Chapter 1: Nebuchadnezzar's Wars

Rise of Nebuchadnezzar

The Egyptian Holocaust

In 564 B.C. a foreign army invaded Egypt, laying waste the country. Tens of thousands died. Thousands more, primarily the skilled and educated elite, priests and artisans alike, were taken captive and deported. A minority escaped into the surrounding desert, among them the ruling pharaoh. Only a small remnant survived.

The physical structures of the country were also decimated. Temples and tombs were destroyed and looted. Cities were burned. From Migdol in the eastern Delta to Syene near Elephantine south of Thebes, 500 miles upriver on the Nile, the country was ravaged.

It was, quite literally, a holocaust.

Twenty years passed as the land languished, raped of its treasure by garrisons left behind by the foreigners. No pharaoh ruled to restore order. Another twenty years saw limited rebuilding and the gradual renewal of religious and political life. Temples were repaired. Training began for a new generation of priests and artisans.

The few traumatized survivors of the exile, now old, had only a vague recollection of the days when the priests were taken away and the population vanished. They told tales about the *nšn,* "the devastation".

The name of the invader, familiar to even the most casual student of ancient history, was Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, at the time the dominant power in the ancient Near East.

Only one problem surfaces in connection with this unprecedented act of genocide and material destruction. Without exception, historians categorically deny it ever happened.

But they are mistaken. This book, and those which follow, are dedicated to proving the historicity of the event. It will not be an easy task. The denial by historians is based on the accepted chronology of 6th century Egypt, what we consistently call the "traditional history". Proving our case will necessitate altering that chronology. It will be no minor revision. When all is said and done, in four lengthy books filled with closely reasoned argument, a "revised history" will emerge which bears little resemblance to the story of Egypt told in the textbooks. Entire dynasties will be dislodged and displaced, often by as much as seven hundred years.

The argument will be difficult to follow, though charts and diagrams are provided to illuminate the way. The reader will be challenged to master two histories, both the errant traditional history and the revised alternative. It will be toilsome work, especially

for those not well versed in ancient history. This is not light reading.

Our story begins fifty years before the Egyptian invasion of which we speak, in the final days of Nabopolassar, the father of the famed Babylonian king. The nation he ruled, then known as Akkad, at the time a tributary of the Assyrian Empire, is fighting to free itself from its suzerain. Soon it will emerge as the short-lived, but powerful kingdom known to the modern world as the neo-Babylonian Empire.

Fall of Assyria; Rise of Babylon

The recently published *Chronicles*[1] of the kings of Akkad waste few words describing the fall of Assyria in 612 B.C. In short terse sentences the text of tablet BM 21901 describes how, in the 14th year of Nabopolassar, the army of Akkad (Babylon) crossed the Tigris River and joined forces with Cyaxares of Media. Together the two armies advanced on Nineveh. For two months, from Sivan (May/June) to Ab (July/August) the battle raged, then ended abruptly. The narrative is garbled, the result of considerable damage to the 2600-year-old cuneiform tablets, but there is no mistaking the outcome. The city was ransacked; its army routed. Its king Sinsharishkun was deposed and likely killed. The treasure of the city was divided, and Cyaxares returned to his homeland. Nabopolassar used the ruined city as a base of operations as he continued his military assault on Assyrian lands.

If Sinsharishkun did not die in the assault, then he certainly died within the year. According to the *Chronicle*, at the end of the fourteenth year (612/611 B.C.) a new king, Ashuruballit, ruled in Harran, a provincial capital near the Euphrates on the extreme western fringe of the kingdom. Nineveh was lost, its king had been killed, but Assyria survived. At least for the moment.

The fall of Nineveh was not immediately followed by an assault on Harran. Nabopolassar tarried. For two years he continued to conquer and plunder largely undefended Assyrian territory. The delay resulted, in part at least, from Nabopolassar's reluctance to attack Harran alone, without the help of the Medes.[2] The alliance between the two aggressors was renewed only in the latter part of the sixteenth year. In the month Marcheswan (October/November) the united armies moved to unseat Ashuruballit.

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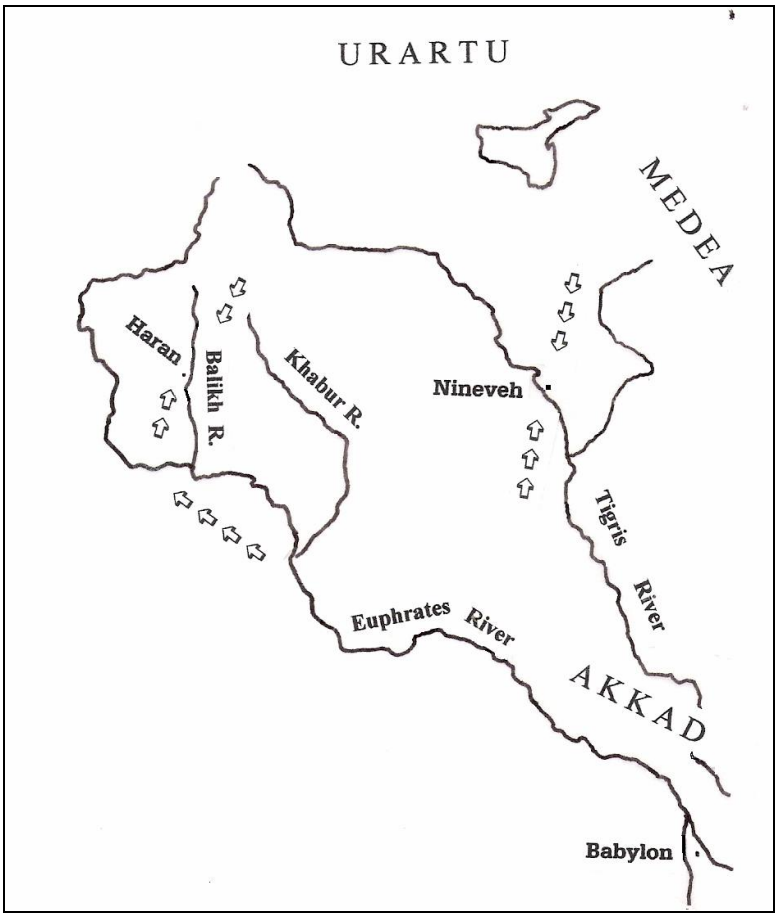
[1] D.J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* (1955). This publication provides a transliteration and translation of British Museum tablets B.M. 21901, 21946, 22047, 25124, and 25127, with commentary by Wiseman. Only tablets 21901, 21946, and 22047 are quoted in this chapter.

[2] This is the opinion of Wiseman, *Chronicles*, p. 18.

Figure 1: End of the Assyrian Empire (612 & 609 B.C.)



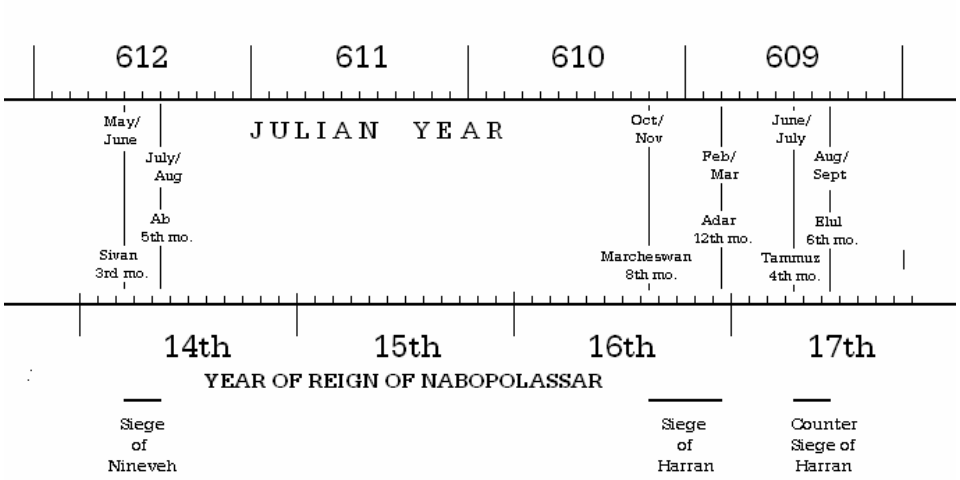
Why were Nabopolassar and Cyaxares unwilling to pursue their advantage after the fall of Nineveh, and immediately attack the remnant Assyrian army in Harran? Why the two-year delay before they resumed their aggression against the Assyrian king? The Chronicler hints at one possible answer. He notes, almost in passing, that an Egyptian army was present in Harran.

Either during or immediately following the fall of Nineveh, Egypt must have sent troops to assist Ashuruballit. Nabopolassar and Cyaxares, perhaps intimidated by the allied armies of the defenders, broke off their attack. By the 16th year of Nabopolassar conditions had apparently changed. The Egyptian/Assyrian alliance remained but was

reduced in strength. We don't know why. Media and Akkad responded. Ashuruballit's army and the remaining Egyptian troops were taken by surprise. For a time they defended, then fled from Harran, finding sanctuary west of the Euphrates. The Medes and Babylonians overran and plundered the city, then returned to their respective homelands, leaving Harran defended by a garrison of troops.

Ashuruballit made only one futile attempt to retake his city. In the seventeenth year of Nabopolassar (609/608 B.C.) his remaining forces, fortified by the arrival of "a great Egyptian army"[3] laid siege to Harran. The garrison of Median and Babylonian troops held out long enough for Nabopolassar to march to its relief. Though critical parts of the Chronicle are "broken and uncertain", sufficient text remains to confirm that the Babylonians repelled the counter-attack.

Figure 2: Timeline - Siege of Nineveh & Harran[4]



[3] BM 21901, line 67.

[4] The timeline as shown contains a few technical inaccuracies and is provided only to illustrate the sequence of events. The Babylonians followed a lunar calendar in which the 12-month cycle was considerably shorter than a solar year. Intercalary months were inserted every several years to maintain accuracy but for the years in question we do not know precisely their location. The reader should also note that the initial siege of Harran did not last the whole of the time shown. Nabopolassar began the siege in the 8th month (Marcheswan) and left the city in the hands of a garrison of troops in the 12th month (Adar). When, in the interim, the Assyrian and Egyptian troops abandoned the city is not known for certain. It might be that the city actually changed hands in the latter days of 610 B.C., rather than in 609 B.C. as the figure suggests. We will continue to use the 609 date regardless. This is the date typically used in the textbooks.

There is no further mention of the Egyptian army. Ashuruballit is never heard from again. When the *Chronicle* continues the historical record on another tablet (BM 22047), with the eighteenth year of Nabopolassar, the king of Akkad has turned his attention to Urartu.

Babylon and Egypt

Who was the pharaoh who led the "great Egyptian army" to assist Ashuruballit in 609 B.C.? Surprisingly, scholars have determined it was not the same pharaoh who aided the Assyrian king in 612 B.C., whose mere presence had deterred the initial aggression of the combined armies of Media and Babylon? Historians have identified both pharaohs, but the identification is not based on the narrative of the *Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* in both instances refers to an Egyptian army; it fails to name the Egyptian king.

The identification of the two Egyptian pharaohs is based instead on the accepted chronology of 7th century Egypt, wherein the country was ruled by a sequence of 26th dynasty kings with capital in Sais, a town on a Nile tributary in the western Delta.[5] The regnal years of these Saïte dynasty kings have been precisely determined. According to this chronology Egypt was ruled in 612 B.C. by Wahibre Psamtik I, the first king of this dynasty, at the time into the 52nd year of his 54-year long kingship. Psamtik must have been the pharaoh whose fame intimidated the armies of Cyaxares and Nabopolassar.[6] But according to this same traditional history Psamtik died in 610 B.C. A son named Wahemibre Necao succeeded him. It must have been the neophyte king Necao who came to the aid of Ashuruballit in 609 B.C.

This identification receives support from an incident described in the Hebrew Bible. The garrison of Egyptian and Assyrian troops in Harran abandoned the city in the final months of the sixteenth year of Nabopolassar, possibly January/February 609 B.C. The counterattack by Ashuruballit and the "great Egyptian army" which had arrived in the interim took place in the two-month period between Tammuz (June/July) and Elul (August/September) of that same year (now the seventeenth of Nabopolassar). In the spring of that year, according to Jewish historians, Josiah king of Judah had an unfortunate and fatal encounter with an Egyptian army moving northward from Egypt

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[5] There is some debate whether Sais was located in the eastern or western Delta. That debate need not concern us here.

[6] By all accounts Psamtik must have been an elderly man at the time, well over 80 years old. He hardly qualifies as a threat to the combined might of Babylon and Media. How is it that his fame was able to stay the advance of the armies of these two powerful nations? In the sequel to the present book, entitled *Piankhi the Chameleon*, we discuss the unlikelihood that the Egyptian king on whom Ashuruballit relied for help was actually Psamtik I, a king not known to have ventured beyond the eastern border of Egypt. At the time we will identify the true ally of the Assyrian king.

along the Mediterranean coast.

> While Josiah was king, Pharaoh Neco king of Egypt went up to the Euphrates River to help the king of Assyria. King Josiah marched out to meet him in battle, but Neco faced him and killed him at Megiddo. (2 Kings 23:29)[7]

It is clear that the biblical text is describing the movement of the "great Egyptian army" en route to assist Ashuruballit. Elsewhere we are informed that Pharaoh Necho is impatient, consistent with the urgency of his mission.

> But Neco sent messengers to him saying, "What quarrel is there between you and me, O king of Judah? It is not you I am attacking at this time, but the house with which I am at war. God has told me to hurry; so stop opposing God, who is with me ... (2 Chron. 35: 20,21)

The temporary delay at Megiddo was inconsequential. Necho soon arrived to support the Egyptian garrison at Carchemish, whence he joined forces with Ashuruballit and his surviving army. Together they attempted to retake Harran but within two months of engagement the counter siege was lifted. The attempt had failed. The details are unknown. Necho returned to Egypt.

With some certainty we can date the Megiddo encounter and Josiah's death to June, 609 B.C. Three months later Necho, en route to Egypt, passed through Judah. There he deposed Jehoahaz[8], the son of Josiah, who had assumed the kingship of Judah at his father's death. "He installed as king Eliakim, another son of Josiah, and carried Jehoahaz off to Egypt." (2 Chron. 36:4) Necho changed the name of Eliakim to Jehoiakim.

This corroborative evidence provided by the Hebrew Bible convinces scholars absolutely that the pharaoh whose army came to assist Ashuruballit in his struggle with Nabopolassar, the pharaoh who deposed and established kings in vassal states at will, was Wahemibre Necao, the second king of the Saïte dynasty, who ruled Egypt for sixteen years from 610-595 B.C. The name is right. The time is right. The identity is considered a certainty.

It is unfortunate that Necao/Necho left no written record of his wars.[9]

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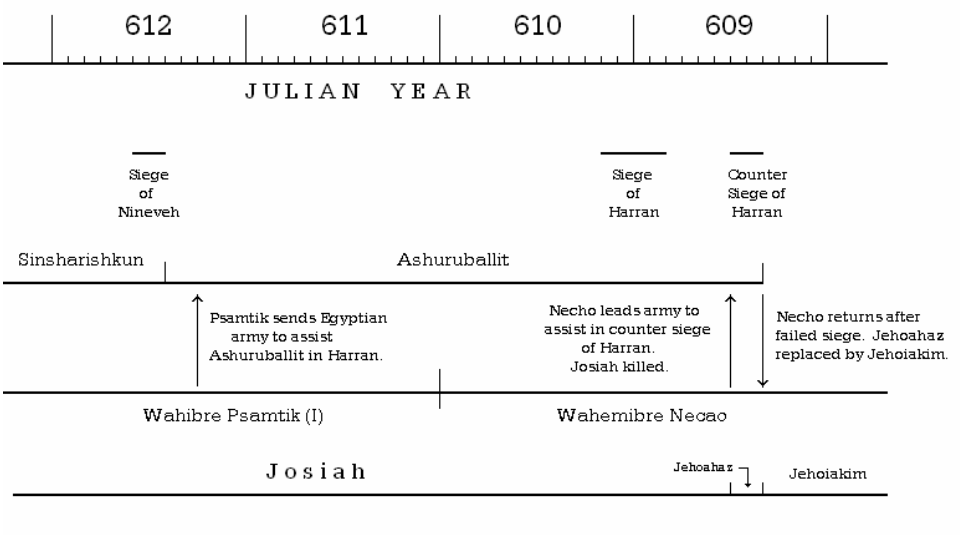
[7] All quotations from the Hebrew Bible, the Christian Old Testament, are taken from the New International Version (1973) unless otherwise stated.

[8] The son of Josiah was actually named Shallum. Necho changed his name to Jehoahaz at the same time as he deposed and deported the king.

[9] In chapter 8 we will argue our case that this coincidence of name and date is simply that – an unfortunate coincidence. Wahemibre Necao, as in the case of his father Psamtik, did not venture beyond the eastern border of Egypt. He left no record of any battles with Media and/or Babylon, or of any alliance with the Assyrians. In fact, he left for posterity no inscriptional evidence of any wars, though as we will see, he did reluctantly participate in one.

Figure 3: Timeline – Psamtik & Necho Alliance with Assyria



Rise of Nubuchadnezzar

The eighteenth year of Nabopolassar not only begins a new tablet (BM 22047) but a new era. Babylon is now in control of all former Assyrian territory east of the Euphrates.[10] The aging king campaigned extensively and successfully that year in the mountains of Urartu and then, in his nineteenth year, divided the army and shared leadership with his son. Nebuchadrezzar[11] enters history.

Later in his nineteenth year Nabopolassar, flush from victory in the northern mountains, began to challenge Egyptian dominance west of the Euphrates. He moved to take possession of the city of Kimuhu on the western bank of the Euphrates, south of Carchemish. The city was presumably an Egyptian possession. From Tisri (September/October) to Kislev (November/December) he laid siege to the city until it fell. Two months later, in the month Sebat (January/February), he returned home with prisoners, leaving behind a garrison to defend the city.

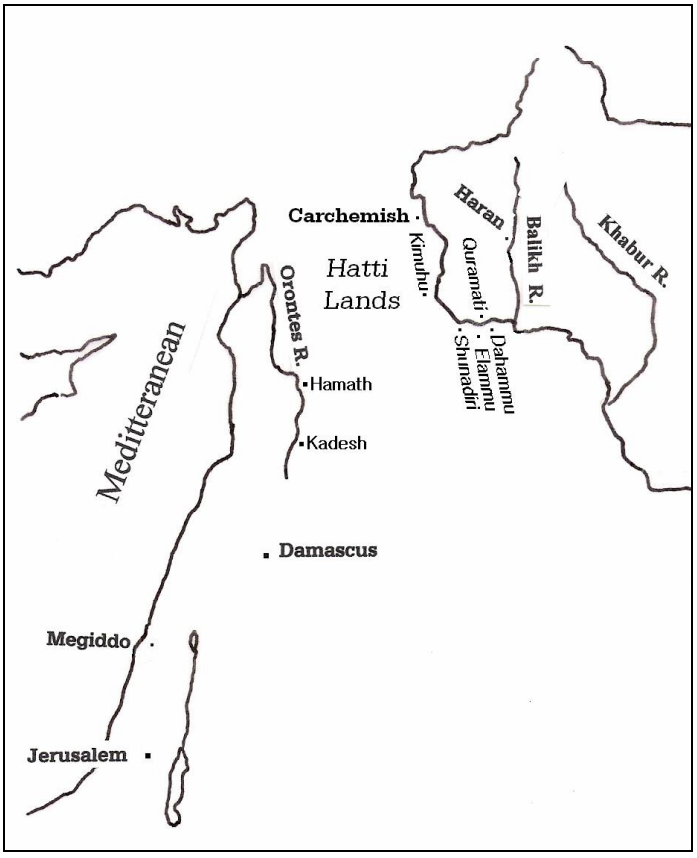
[10] Babylon apparently claimed all Assyrian lands east of the Euphrates extending as far as Lake Van in the northeast. Media appears to have occupied territory north of Carchemish and north of the Euphrates. Boundary issues do not arise in the existing *Chronicle*.

[11] The spelling "Nebuchadnezzar" has been used as the book title, and in the early sections of this first chapter, in view of its familiarity to the public. It is also maintained when used within quoted material. For technical accuracy the spelling "Nebuchadrezzar" is employed elsewhere.

This aggression prompted a response from Necho. Early in the 20th year of Nabopolassar, only months after that king had departed for Babylon, Egyptian troops arrived to retake the city. The Egyptian army battled the Babylonian garrison at Kimuhu for four months, most likely from May through August. The Chronicle records the event, but provides no specific dates. The city fell and once more became an Egyptian possession.

Nabopolassar responded. In the month Tisri (September/October) he moved once again up the Euphrates toward its western bend. He may well have been destined for Kimuhu, but en route he stopped at Quramati, a Babylonian city on the eastern bank, and sent troops across to attack the towns of Shunadiri, Elammu and Dahammu, defeating those cities. Four months later, in the month Sebat (January/February) he returned to Babylon.

Figure 4: Nabopolassar & Necho Battle at the Euphrates



Again Necho acted quickly. Although the main Egyptian army had long since departed for Egypt, a garrison of troops remained at Carchemish. These troops immediately crossed the Euphrates and proceeded southward to attack Quramati. The Babylonian army withdrew. We assume that the three cities on the western bank also returned to Egyptian control at this time. It was still within the 20th year of Nabopolassar.

"In the twenty-first year the king of Akkad stayed in his own land. Nebuchadrezzar his eldest son, the crown prince, mustered the Babylonian army and…".[12] The damaged conclusion to the *Chronicle* tablet leaves us guessing why the king stayed home and where the prince went with the army. But since Nabopolassar died the next year, we can surmise that he was ill.

The Battle of Carchemish (605 B.C.)

BM 21946 continues the *Chronicle* with a terse description of one of the most famous battles of antiquity. In Nabopolassar's 21st year Nebuchadrezzar replaced the ailing king at the helm of the army and returned to the western bend of the Euphrates, ostensibly to avenge his father's recent defeats. He crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish and thoroughly routed the Egyptian garrison. The survivors fled toward Egypt, but were overtaken at Hamath. All were killed. Nebuchadrezzar proceeded to take possession of the whole of northern Syria east of the Orontes, a land mass that the Chronicler calls the "Hatti-lands". What had once belonged to Egypt now belonged to Babylon. Movement further south was delayed by the untimely death of Nabopolassar in the month of Ab (July/August). Nebuchadrezzar briefly interrupted his campaign in Elul (August/September), the month following, and returned to Babylon for his coronation. Within the month he was back in the Hatti lands, gathering tribute. The year's campaign ended in Sebat (January/February). It was the conclusion of his father's 21st year, what the Babylonians called the "accession year" of the new king.

The defeat of the Egyptian army in 605 B.C. was cause for celebration in Judah. The death of Josiah and the deposition and deportation of Jehoahaz had left the Judaeans with bitter feelings toward Necho. The prophet Jeremiah expressed the sentiments of the nation in a lengthy diatribe:

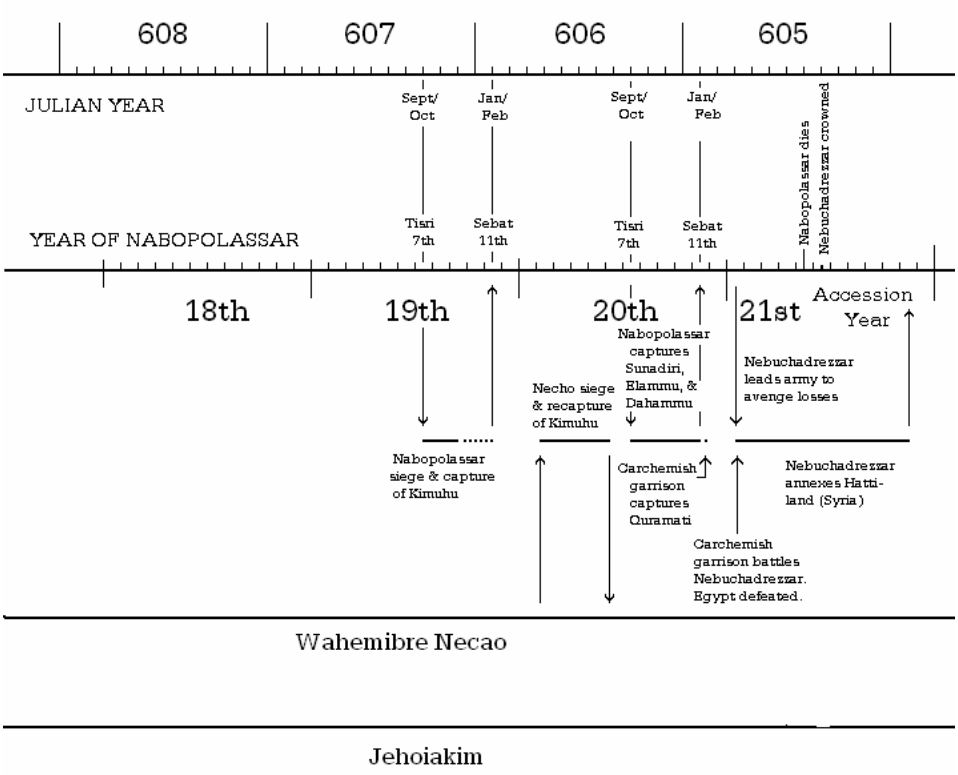
> This is the message against the army of Pharaoh Neco king of Egypt, which was defeated at Carchemish on the Euphrates River by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon in the fourth year of Jehoiakim son of Josiah king of Judah: Prepare your shields, both large and small, and march out for battle! Harness the horses, mount the steeds! Take your positions with helmets on! Polish your spears, put on your armour! What do I see? They are terrified, they are retreating; their warriors are defeated. They flee in haste without looking back,

[12] BM 22047, lines 27,28

> and there is terror on every side, declared the Lord. The swift cannot flee nor the strong escape In the north by the River Euphrates they stumble and fall... (Jer. 46:2-5)

The loss of Carchemish significantly changed the balance of power in the region. Following the battle Nebuchadrezzar roamed freely throughout Syria. In his first official year (604-603 B.C.) "All the kings of the Hatti-land came before him and he received their heavy tribute. He marched to the city of Askelon and captured it in the month of Kislev."[13] Ashkelon was only a day's march from the border of Egypt. Phoenicia and the kingdom of Judah changed allegiance.

Figure 5: Timeline - Battles at the Euphrates (608-605 B.C.)



[13] BM 21946, lines 17,18

Jewish historians note the transition from Egyptian to Babylonian control of Judah at the end of 604 B.C. "During Jehoiakim's reign, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon invaded the land, and Jehoiakim became his vassal for three years." (2 Kings 24:1) During this time, "the king of Egypt did not march out from his own country again, because the king of Babylon had taken all his territory, from the Wadi of Egypt to the Euphrates River." (2 Kings 24:7).

Both Jewish historians and the Babylonian chroniclers agree that this first phase of Babylonian suzerainty over Judah ended three years after it began.

In 601 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar mistook Necho's inactivity for weakness. He moved to attack Egypt. He marched his army through the Hatti land to the border of Egypt. In the month Kislev (November/December) the two armies met in open battle. According to the Chronicle both suffered considerable losses. In the end "the king of Akkad and his troops turned back and returned to Babylon."[14] It was the 4th year of Nebuchadrezzar.

While the *Chronicle* describes a standoff battle, it is clear that Nebuchadrezzar lost the war. Judah changed allegiance, falling once again under Necho's control. Jehoiakim withheld tribute from Babylon.

It is again regrettable that Wahemibre Necao fails to mention his wars with the great Babylonian king. The lack of any memorial to the conflict in 601 B.C. is particularly disturbing. For the first time the battle was fought near the border of Egypt. And for the first time pharaoh Necho could claim a victory over Babylon.

Jewish historians do not describe this conflict. They record only the fact that after three years of paying tribute to the Babylonians, Jehoiakim "changed his mind and rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar." (2 Kings 24:1)

Nebuchadrezzar remained in Babylon the next year, his fifth, "and gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers."[15] In years six and seven, his military strength renewed, he moved to recover what territory he had lost in his fourth year. First he re-established his base in Syria, and then he moved in year seven (598/97 B.C.) to retake Judah. Jerusalem quickly fell.

The First Jewish Captivity (598/97 B.C.)

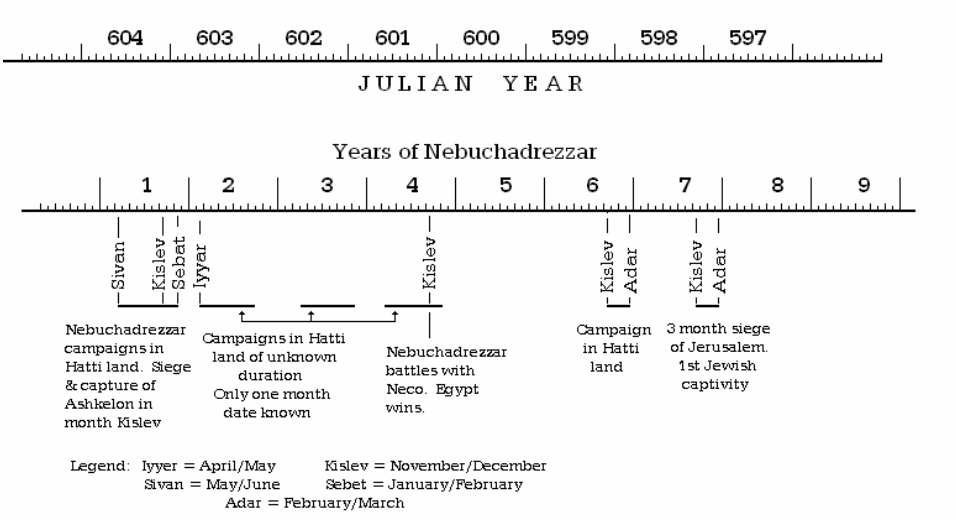
Concerning the attack on Jerusalem the Babylonian *Chronicle* is brief and to the point. In his 7th year, in the month Kislev (November/December, 598 B.C.) Nebuchadrezzar

[14] BM 21946 rev., line 7
[15] BM 21946 rev., line 8

moved through the Hatti land and laid siege to Jerusalem ("the city of Judah"). By the second day of Adar (February/March, 597 B.C.) the city fell, its king was captured and deposed, and a replacement installed. No names are given.

For details of this first siege of Jerusalem we rely on Jewish literature. The assault was not directed against Jehoiakim, who had died three months before it began, but against his eighteen-year-old son and successor Jehoiakin.

Figure 6: Timeline – Nebuchadrezzar's Wars (604-597 B.C.)



> At that time the officers of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon advanced on Jerusalem and laid siege to it, and Nebuchadnezzar himself came up to the city while his officers were besieging it. Jehoiachin king of Judah, his mother, his attendants, his nobles and his officials all surrendered to him. In the eighth year[16] of the reign of the king of Babylon, he took Jehoiachin prisoner. (2 Kings 24:10-12)

[16] The entire siege of Jerusalem took place within the 7th year of Nebuchadrezzar. The Jewish historians are apparently using a non-accession year system of dating, in which the accession year of Nebuchadrezzar is counted as his 1st regnal year. Thus the 7th official year in the Babylonian tabulation becomes Nebuchadrezzar's 8th year in the Jewish reckoning.

Nebuchadrezzar proceeded to remove from Jerusalem to Babylon everything transportable and of value. This included skilled labour for his numerous building projects and conscripts for his army. It was a massive deportation.

> Nebuchadnezzar removed all the treasures from the temple of the Lord… He carried into exile all Jerusalem: all the officers and fighting men, and all the craftsmen and artisans - a total of ten thousand. Only the poorest people of the land were left.
> Nebuchadnezzar took Jehoiachin captive to Babylon. He also took from Jerusalem to Babylon the king's mother, his wives, his officials and the leading men of the land. The king of Babylon also deported to Babylon the entire force of seven thousand fighting men, strong and fit for war, and a thousand craftsmen and artisans. He made Mattaniah, Jehoiachin's uncle, king in his place and changed his name to Zedekiah" (2 Kings 24:13-17)

The Jewish historian Josephus, a citizen of Rome writing in the first century A.D., informs us that Ezekiel, a prominent prophetic spokesman within the exiled Jewish community in Babylon, was one of the deportees in this captivity.

It is important to note the key elements of this invasion. Collectively they constitute a *modus operandi* repeated with few variations in Nebuchadrezzar's second assault on Jerusalem a decade later (586 B.C.), and during his invasion of Egypt three decades removed (564 B.C.) They include 1) extensive physical destruction; 2) the removal of all portable treasure; 3) the deportation of a majority of the educated elite, including artisans; 4) the removal of the king and replacement by an authority loyal to Babylon; and finally, 5) the abandonment of the decimated land to a remnant of the poor and illiterate.

The balance of the Babylonian *Chronicle* recorded on BM 21946 describes sundry nondescript activities through the tenth year (595/594 B.C.). Having recovered the Hatti land in its entirety in year seven, Nebuchadrezzar's army marched as far as Carchemish in year eight, battled with Elam in year nine, and for unknown reasons mutinied in year ten. The last we hear from the *Chronicle* Nebuchadrezzar is actively suppressing this rebellion. He "slew many of his own army," and "captured his enemy" (rev. line 22). The balance of the *Chronicle* is lost. For the remaining 32 years of Nebuchadrezzar's rule we are almost entirely dependent on information from Jewish sources.

The Second Jewish Captivity (587/86 B.C.)

For all but the last two years of the rule of Zedekiah (597-586 B.C.) Judah routinely paid tribute to Babylon. We have details of only the last few years of the kingdom when "Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon". (2 Kings 24:20) The response was swift and severe. In Zedekiah's ninth year (588 B.C.), "on the tenth day of the tenth

month, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon marched against Jerusalem with his whole army. He encamped outside the city and built siege works all around it. The city was kept under siege until the eleventh year of King Zedekiah." (2 Kings 25:1,2) After a year and a half of confinement the population of Jerusalem succumbed to famine. Unable to resist any longer the city fell (586 B.C.).

> By the ninth day of the fourth month the famine in the city had become so severe that there was no food for the people to eat. Then the city wall was broken through, and the whole army fled at night through the gate between the two walls near the king's garden, though the Babylonians were surrounding the city. They fled toward the Arabah, but the Babylonian army pursued the king and overtook him in the plains of Jericho. All his soldiers were separated from him and scattered, and he was captured. He was taken to the king of Babylon at Riblah, where sentence was pronounced on him. They killed the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes. Then they put out his eyes, bound him with bronze shackles and took him to Babylon. (2 Kings 25:3-7)

Four hundred years of continuous occupation of the land by the descendants of king David ended ignominiously. What remained of the Judaean population was removed to Babylon. It is a heart wrenching narrative.

> On the seventh day of the fifth month, in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, Nebuzaradan, commander of the imperial guard, an official of the king of Babylon, came to Jerusalem. He set fire to the temple of the Lord, the royal palace and all the houses of Jerusalem. Every important building he burned down. The whole Babylonian army, under the commander of the imperial guard, broke down the walls around Jerusalem. Nebuzaradan the commander of the guard carried into exile the people who remained in the city, along with the rest of the populace and those who had gone over to the king of Babylon. But the commander left behind some of the poorest people of the land to work the vineyards and fields. (2 Kings 25:8-12)

Anything of value was taken as pillage. The Jerusalem temple was stripped of all gold and silver and bronze; anything of significance spared in the destruction of 597 B.C. was now removed.

> So Judah went into captivity, away from her land. (2 Kings 25:21)

Judah After the Invasion

It was not Nebuchadrezzar's policy to leave conquered lands without some regulating authority. A land without administration can pay no taxes. As he had done a decade earlier, Nebuchadrezzar left in place local leadership to regulate the decimated

population. In the absence of royal sons he appointed as governor Gedaliah, son of Ahikim, from a prominent Judaean family. Babylonian officials were left behind with Gedaliah in Mizpah. A military garrison at Riblah, near Kadesh in Syria, served to ensure the allegiance of the Hatti lands, including Judah.

Once again we see here a typical Babylonian pattern of assault: extensive physical destruction with looting, deportation of the educated elite, death or deportation of existing royalty, establishment of loyal leadership from within the community with native Babylonian officials to assist, and the resettlement of a largely poor and illiterate remnant.

There is one additional characteristic of this 586 B.C. invasion of Judah worth noting. Shortly after the exit of the Babylonian army, many Judaeans who had left the country before the assault, seeking safe haven in neighbouring countries such as Moab and Ammon, returned to the desolate land and ruined cities. A remnant of the army, including several officers who had fled the city with Zedekiah and had not been captured by the Babylonians, also returned. The land was desolate, the cities ruined, the population seriously depleted; but there was a surviving remnant and there were returnees.

The Judaean remnant included at least one notable exception to the Babylonian policy of deporting the educated elite, namely, Jeremiah, the Judaean prophet whose anti-Egyptian sentiments have already been noted. The invasion that enslaved the nation of Judah freed Jeremiah from a temporary incarceration. His incessant public proclamations urging surrender to the Babylonians had incurred the wrath of Zedekiah, and had resulted in his confinement. It is Jeremiah exclusively who provides information on the flight to Egypt that soon followed.

Dependency on Egypt

The rebellion of Zedekiah that precipitated the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar was encouraged by Egypt. Zedekiah was counting on the Egyptian army to discourage any Babylonian advance. His trust was misplaced. Only after the blockade of Jerusalem had begun did Egypt respond. According to Jeremiah, "Pharaoh's army marched out of Egypt, and when the Babylonians who were besieging Jerusalem heard the report about them, they withdrew from Jerusalem" (Jer. 37:5). Jeremiah warned Zedekiah that the reprieve would be short lived. He was correct. For reasons not given, the Egyptian army returned to Egypt and the Babylonian assault resumed.

According to Ezekiel, writing from Babylon, Zedekiah was ill advised to depend on the Egyptians. He recalls how, following the earlier (597 B.C.) captivity Zedekiah had entered into a treaty with Babylon. He had sworn an oath of allegiance to Nebuchadrezzar, and the survival of his kingdom depended on maintaining that treaty.

> But the king rebelled against him by sending his envoys to Egypt to get horses and a large army. Will he succeed? Will he who does such things escape? Will he break the treaty and yet escape? (Ezek. 17:15)

The questions are rhetorical. Ezekiel knows that Zedekiah's dependence on Egypt will be futile: "Pharaoh with his mighty army and great horde will be of no help to him in war, when ramps are built and siege works erected ..." (Ezek. 17:17)

In the traditional history the Egyptian king on whom Zedekiah relied in vain must be the fourth king of the Saïte dynasty, Ha'a'ibre Wahibre, known to the Greeks as Apries. According to this history Necho died in 595 B.C., two years after Zedekiah was installed as king, and for the balance of Zedekiah's reign Egypt was ruled by Necho's son Psamtik II (595-589 B.C.) and then by Ha'a'ibre Wahibre (589-570 B.C.). Psamtik II and Apries must have been powerful kings to tempt Zedekiah to withhold tribute from Nebuchadrezzar. Sadly they have left no monuments commemorating their struggles with Babylon.[17]

While the Egyptian king was unable to prevent the fall of Jerusalem, he did open Egypt's borders to receive Judaean refugees. The available safe harbor in Egypt appealed to the remnant that survived in Judah. When Gedaliah, soon after his appointment as governor, was murdered by Ishmael, son of Nethaniah, a Judaean of royal blood and an officer of the king, fear of reprisal from Babylon made an Egyptian sojourn seem even more inviting. Against the advice of Jeremiah the Jewish remnant fled to Egypt. The majority settled in the fortress city of Tahpanhes (tell Defenneh - modern Daphnae) on the eastern edge of the Egyptian delta. It is in this context that we hear for the first time of an impending Babylonian attack on Egypt.

Invasion of Egypt

According to Jeremiah

The first clear statement of the impending disaster comes from Jeremiah, the reluctant refugee:

> In Tahpanhes the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah: While the Jews are watching, take some large stones with you and bury them in clay in the brick pavement at the entrance to Pharaoh's palace in Tahpanhes. Then say to them, This is what the Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, says: I will send for my servant Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and I will set his throne over these stones I have buried here; he will spread his royal canopy above them. He will

[17] In chapter 9 we will identify the actual historical context in which these Säite kings lived.

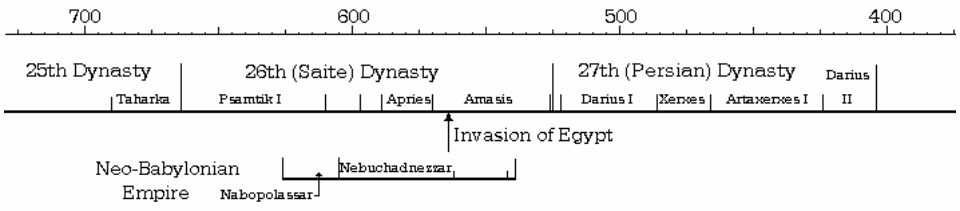
> come and attack Egypt, bringing death to those destined for death, captivity to those destined for captivity, and the sword to those destined for the sword. He will set fire to the temples of the gods of Egypt; he will burn their temples and take their gods captive. As a shepherd wraps his garment around him, so will he wrap Egypt around himself and depart from there unscathed. There in the temple of the sun (Heliopolis) in Egypt he will demolish the sacred pillars and will burn down the temples of the gods of Egypt. (Jer. 43: 8-13)

Jeremiah supplies no specific date for the Babylonian invasion. For the refugees in Tahpanhes he provides a single clue: first the death of the pharaoh Apries; then the invasion.

> 'This will be the sign to you that I will punish you in this place,' declares the Lord, 'so that you will know that my threats of harm against you will surely stand.' This is what the Lord says: 'I am going to hand Pharaoh Hophra (Wahibre in the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible) king of Egypt over to his enemies who seek his life, just as I handed Zedekiah king of Judah over to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, the enemy who was seeking his life.' (Jer. 44: 29-30)

As mentioned earlier, Wahemibre Necao (610-595 B.C.) was succeeded briefly by Psamtik (II) (595-589 B.C.) and then by Ha'a'ibre Wahibre (589-570 B.C.). This Wahibre, called Apries by the Greek historians, the fourth king of the Saïte dynasty and the object of Zedekiah's misplaced trust, must be the Pharaoh Hophra alluded to by Jeremiah. This, of course, if the traditional Egyptian chronology is accurate. The invasion must therefore postdate the end of Wahibre's reign in 570 B.C. Since a fifth king, Ahmose-sa-Neith (Amasis), succeeded Wahibre and ruled Egypt for 44 years, the invasion must have occurred early in his reign.

Figure 7: Timeline – Invasion of Nebuchadrezzar (Traditional History)



The 586 B.C. Babylonian invasion of Judah was the prototype for what was about to happen in Egypt. Jeremiah warns the Jewish refugees: "This is what the Lord Almighty, the God of Israel says: 'You saw the great disaster I brought on Jerusalem and on all the

towns of Judah. Today they lie deserted and in ruins.... Why bring such great disaster on yourselves?' " (Jer. 44:2,7) He predicts for the Jews in Egypt the same threefold curse - "sword, famine, and plague" - that earlier decimated their homeland. (Jer. 44: 12; cf. Ezek. 5:12) Very few of the Jewish refugees would escape death. (Jer. 44: 27)

Memphis, the Egyptian capital, is likened to Jerusalem. "Pack your belongings for exile you who live in Egypt, for Memphis will be laid waste and lie in ruins without inhabitant" (Jer. 46: 19) The largely mercenary army defending Egypt would flee the onslaught:

> Announce this in Egypt, and proclaim it in Migdol; proclaim it also in Memphis and Tahpanhes: Take your positions and get ready, for the sword devours those around you. Why will your warriors be laid low? They cannot stand, for the Lord will push them down. They will stumble repeatedly; they will fall over each other. They will say, Get up, let us go back to our own people and our native lands, away from the sword of the oppressor. (Jer. 46: 14-16)

The anticipated destruction would be immense; the depopulation of the country almost total. From the Nile Delta five hundred miles upriver to Thebes the Babylonian army would plunder and destroy. But in Egypt, as in Judah earlier, a remnant of the poorest of the land would survive. Others would flee to neighbouring countries and return later.

> The Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, says: "I am about to bring punishment on Amon god of Thebes, on Pharaoh, on Egypt and her gods and her kings, and on those who rely on Pharaoh. I will hand them over to those who seek their lives, to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon and his officers. Later, however, Egypt will be inhabited as in times past," declares the Lord. (Jer. 46:25-26)

In the case of Judah, Jeremiah had predicted a seventy-year exile. (Jer. 25:12; 29:10) He leaves the length of the Egyptian exile unspecified. "Later" is all he will say. For more specific information on the invasion, and the nature and duration of the exile, we depend on Ezekiel.

According to Ezekiel

Ezekiel is more graphic as well as more specific in his description of the anticipated invasion. He is also less concerned with the Jewish refugees than was Jeremiah. His words are directed toward the native Egyptian population:

> With a great throng of people (i.e. the Babylonian army) I will cast my net over you, and they will haul you up in my net. I will throw you on the land and hurl you on the open field. I will let all the birds of the air settle on you and all the beasts of the earth gorge themselves on you. I will spread your flesh on the

> mountains and fill the valleys with your remains. I will drench the land with your flowing blood all the way to the mountains, and the ravines will be filled with your flesh. (Ezek. 32: 3-6)

There is no ambiguity concerning the pervasiveness of the destruction. No part of Egypt would escape. The slaughter would proceed from Migdol in the northeastern corner of the Delta in the north of Egypt, to Syene, modern Assuan, in the south. There is no mistaking the language of the prophet. In the aftermath of the invasion the whole of Egypt would lie deserted and in ruins. "Egypt will become a desolate wasteland." "I will make the land of Egypt a ruin and a desolate waste from Migdol to Aswan, as far as the border of Cush." (Ezek. 29: 9-10) Included in the carnage were the neighbours and commercial allies of Egypt. This was no mere border skirmish as many critics claim.[18]

> A sword will come against Egypt, and anguish will come upon Cush. When the slain fall in Egypt, her wealth will be carried away and her foundations torn down. Cush and Put, Lydia and all Arabia, Libya and the people of the covenant land will fall by the sword along with Egypt. This is what the Lord says: The allies of Egypt will fall and her proud strength will fail. From Migdol to Aswan (Syene) they will fall by the sword within her, declares the Sovereign Lord. They will be desolate among desolate lands, and their cities will lie among ruined cities. Then they will know that I am the Lord, when I set fire to Egypt and all her helpers are crushed. (Ezek. 30: 4-8)

Ezekiel adds to Jeremiah's list of conquered cities. We can clearly follow the path of destruction through representative towns of the Egyptian Delta southward to Thebes.

> This is what the sovereign Lord says: I will put an end to the hordes of Egypt by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. He and his army - the most ruthless of nations – will be brought in to destroy the land. They will draw their swords against Egypt and fill the land with the slain. I will destroy the idols and put an end to the images in Memphis. I will lay waste Upper Egypt, set fire to Zoan (Tanis) and inflict punishment on Thebes. I will pour out my wrath on Pelusium, the stronghold of Egypt, and cut off the hordes of Thebes. I will set fire to Egypt; Pelusium will writhe in agony. Thebes will be taken by storm; Memphis will be in constant distress. The young men of Heliopolis and Bubastis will fall by the sword and the cities themselves will go into captivity Dark will be the day at Tahpanhes when I break the yoke of Egypt There her proud strength will come to an end She will be covered with clouds and her villages will go into captivity (Ezek. 30: 10-11; 13)

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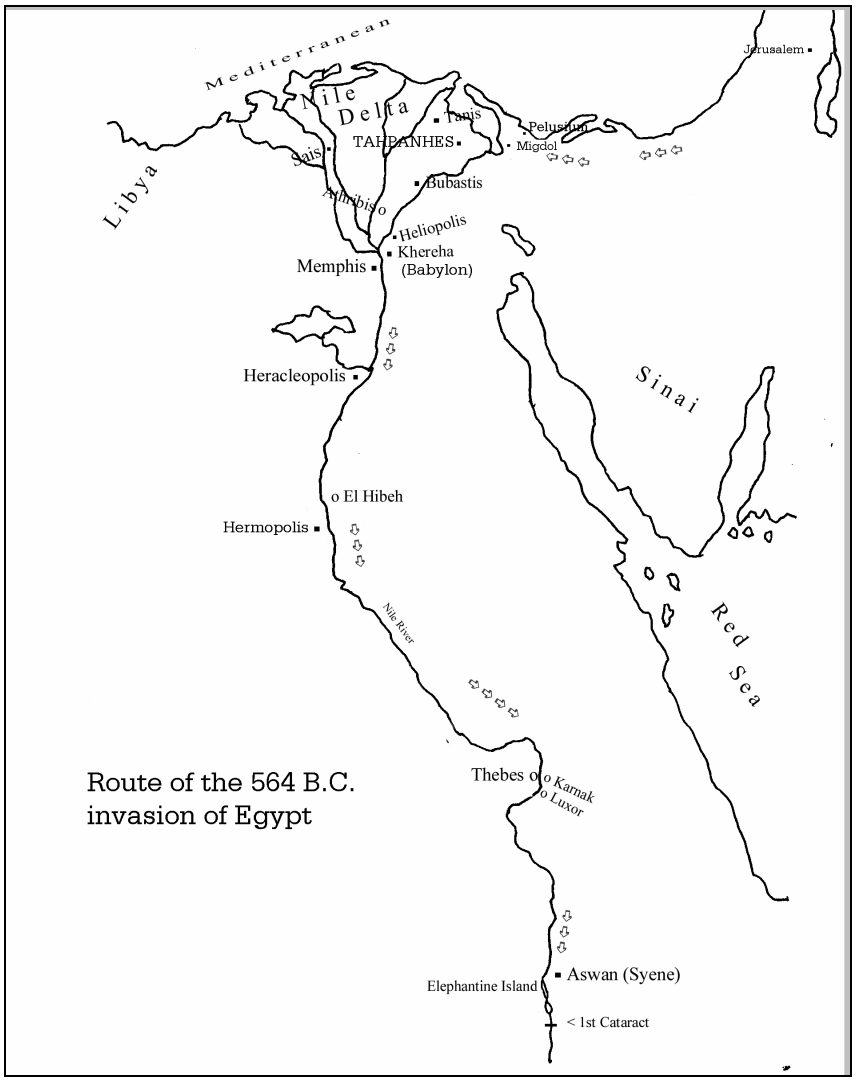
[18] According to K.A. Kitchen, "although Nebuchadrezzar II duly marched against Egypt as prophesied by Jeremiah (46:13ff.), and attested by a Babylonian text, he perhaps came to some agreement with the new king Amasis (Ahmose II) who had displaced Hophra." ZPEB 2:246; Cf. James Henry Breasted in his classic *History of Egypt* (1905), p. 592-93 and H.R. Hall, CAH 2nd 3:304.

Figure 8: The 564 B.C. Invasion of Egypt.



And what fate befell pharaoh? Ezekiel's language is figurative and vague on that account, but he appears to say that the pharaoh escaped both death and capture. His throne was lost but his life was spared, at least for the time being.

> Son of man (God speaking to Ezekiel), set your face against Pharaoh king of Egypt and prophesy against him and against all Egypt. Speak to him and say: 'This is what the Lord God says: I am against you, Pharaoh king of Egypt, you great monster lying among your streams You say, "The Nile is mine, I made it for myself." But I will put hooks in your jaws and make the fish of your streams stick to your scales. I will pull you out from among your streams, with all the fish sticking to your scales. I will leave you in the desert, you and all the fish of your streams. You will fall on the open field and not be gathered or picked up. I will give you as food to the beasts of the earth and birds of the air. (Ezek 29:2-5)

"I will pull you out" from among your streams is better translated "I will drive you out (lit. cause you to leave)" from among your streams. Pharaoh would be driven from the Nile delta into the desert, possibly into the western oasis or southward into Ethiopia. There in exile he would die.

The Forty Year Exile

How long did the devastation last? Jeremiah says only that Egypt would recover. Ezekiel sets specific limits.

> I will make the land of Egypt a ruin and a desolate waste from Midgol to Aswan, as far as the border of Cush. No foot of man or animal will pass through it; no one will live there for forty years. I will make the land of Egypt desolate among devastated lands, and her cities will lie desolate forty years among ruined cities. And I will disperse the Egyptians among the nations and scatter them through the countries. (Ezek. 29: 10-12)

The desolation that followed the invasion of Egypt was of long duration - a forty-year hiatus in the normal political life of the nation. There was for Egypt as there was for Judah, an exile, which left the land bleak and barren. For Judah the exile ended by degrees with a succession of returns of exiled Jews under Cyrus and his Persian successors. We assume that the Egyptian exile, as understood by Ezekiel, ended with the 525 B.C. arrival in Egypt of Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus.[19] Working

[19] When we examine the Cambyses expedition in the pages that follow, we will see that the Persian king was accompanied by at least one notable expatriate Egyptian, Udjahorresne, whom we assume was taken captive by Nebuchadrezzar forty years earlier. There were no doubt a multitude of other returnees, whether surviving captives from Nebuchadrezzar's invasion or their descendants, who took advantage of the opportunity to return to Egypt at this time. The Egyptian

backward from that date, and taking Ezekiel's figure of forty years literally, a tentative date around 565 B.C. is determined for the invasion. Other considerations lead us to reduce that figure by a single year.[20] For the chronological revision that follows, the date 564 B.C. will be adopted as a working hypothesis.

The Babylonian invasion of 586 B.C. put an end to the institution of kingship in Israel. The 564 B.C. invasion of Egypt likewise ended the reign of independent Egyptian pharaohs. Ezekiel is clear and concise: "there will no longer be a prince in Egypt" (Ezek. 30:13b). For several decades Egypt would be without a resident pharaoh, while the land languished in ruins. When kingship returned the Egyptian pharaoh would be subservient to foreign rulers.

If Egypt followed the pattern of Judah we anticipate that a remnant of the population remained and/or returned in the months following the invasion. A Babylonian garrison would be left to superintend the newly conquered territory. The appointment of native leadership to replace the deposed pharaoh is a distinct possibility. Religious institutions would be long dormant since few priests and fewer if any temples survived the destruction. Recovery would be tortuously slow. It would also be turbulent.

That there was a Babylonian garrison in Egypt we will soon see. In fact there were several. But Egypt dwarfs Judah in size. Policing the country proved difficult. Unlike Judah, Egypt had dozens of wealthy cities and hundreds of tombs stuffed with treasure. It was not all plundered by the advancing Babylonian troops. In the months following the invasion Babylonian mercenaries and an unrestrained populace competed in the search for salvage. Anarchy had been minimal in Judah, manifesting itself in the one instance of the assassination of Gedaliah. In Egypt it was pervasive.

The Egypt that emerged from the exile was different from that which preceded the invasion. New laws were required to govern a unique nation emerging from anarchy. Education was essential to instruct an ignorant priesthood, to recreate a capable administration, and to train a new generation of artisans. And the physical infrastructure, burned and broken by the Babylonian troops, had to be rebuilt. Law, education, and reconstruction were the hallmarks of the years immediately preceding the arrival of Cambyses and the end of the exile. This, of course, if the invasion really happened.

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exile officially ended at that time, though in fact the country had long since begun to recuperate.

[20] If 564 B.C. is regarded as the 1st year of the exile, then the arrival of Cambyses, marking the official end of the exile, took place in the 40th year. We can still take Ezekiel at face value by assuming he numbered the years of the exile ordinally.

Prior to the Invasion

The invasion has been provisionally dated in the year 564 B.C. Partial confirmation is forthcoming from Ezekiel, whose oracles, unlike those of Jeremiah, are dated. They are numbered from the year 597 B.C., the year of his captivity.[21]

> In the twenty-seventh year, in the first month on the first day, the word of the Lord came to me. Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon drove his army in a hard campaign against Tyre, every head was rubbed bare and every shoulder made raw. Yet he and his army got no reward from the campaign he led against Tyre. Therefore this is what the Lord God says: I am going to give Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he will carry off its wealth. He will loot and plunder the land as pay for his army. I have given him Egypt as a reward for his efforts because he and his army did it for me, declares the Lord God (Ezek. 29: 17-20)

The 27th year of Ezekiel's captivity was 570 B.C. The invasion was imminent. The assumption that it began in 564 B.C. cannot be far wrong.

The campaign against Tyre mentioned in the same quotation also assists in dating the invasion. In combination with yet another incident, described below, it all but confirms the accuracy of our 564 B.C. date. Both matters warrant our attention.

Siege of Tyre

According to Ezekiel the Babylonian siege of Tyre preceded the invasion of Egypt by only a few years. And in the view of most scholars it immediately followed the 2nd captivity of Judah. It is therefore dated in a very specific time frame. G. A. Cooke, in his influential *International Critical Commentary* on Ezekiel, sums up the consensus opinion. "After he (Nebuchadrezzar) had sacked Jerusalem, he resolved to punish Tyre, and laid siege to it for thirteen years, 585-573, according to the Phoenician sources quoted by Josephus (Antiquities x. II, I; c. Apion I, 21.)"[22]. The unusual length of the conflict can be attributed to the location of Tyre. "In ancient times it stood upon a small rocky island, some 142 acres in area, half a mile from the mainland"[23]. According to Ezekiel, who consumes three chapters discussing the political and economic fortunes of Tyre (chs. 26-28), the island city was eventually conquered. The complaint that little of value remained when the city fell seems to imply that Phoenician ships escaped with the

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[21] Cf. K.S. Freedy and D.B. Redford, "The Dates in Ezekiel in Relation to Biblical, Babylonian and Egyptian Sources," JAOS 90 (1970) 462-485; and Jack Finegan, "The Chronology of Ezekiel," JBL 69 (1950) 61-66.
[22] G.A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel* The International Critical Commentary (ICC), 1936. p. 287.
[23] Ibid., p. 288.

last defenders and with what remained of the city's proverbial wealth. What concerns this revision is the nine-year time span between the fall of Tyre and the beginning of the invasion of Egypt. This is the only available space in which to locate our second event, the mania of Nebuchadrezzar.

Nebuchadrezzar's Mania

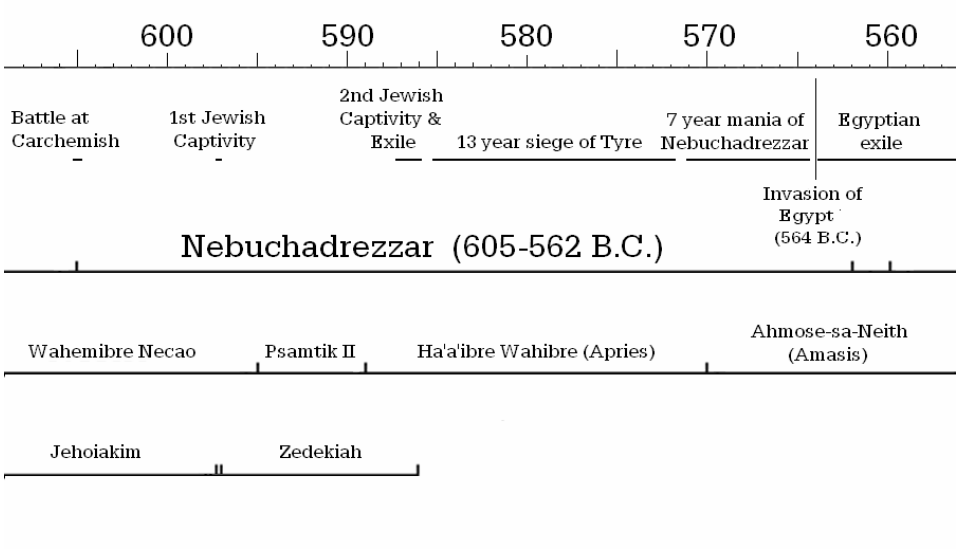
A third Jewish prophet contributes to our knowledge of the activities of Nebuchadrezzar. Daniel, of "lion's den" fame, was, like Ezekiel, a deportee domiciled in Babylon. A youth of high intellect, he was given a Babylonian education and employed his skills in the court of Nebuchadrezzar. One of his functions was the interpretation of dreams. The meaning of a particularly troublesome nightmare is the subject of an extensive dialogue recorded in the Hebrew Bible. With due deference Daniel speaks to Nebuchadrezzar, whose dream it was:

> This is the interpretation, O king, and this is the decree the Most High has issued against my lord the king: You will be driven away from people and will live with the wild animals; you will eat grass like cattle and be drenched with the dew of heaven. Seven times will pass by for you until you acknowledge that the Most High is sovereign over the kingdoms of men ... (Dan. 4: 24-25)

According to Daniel the predicted illness struck suddenly. Nebuchadnezzar lost his mind and went into seclusion. "His hair grew like the feathers of an eagle and his nails like the claws of a bird." (Dan. 4:33) The illness lasted seven years.[24] It must be placed between the end of the assault on Tyre and the beginning of the invasion of Egypt, that is, in the years 572-566 B.C. During this time the armed might of Babylon languished along with its king. It is probable that Egypt took advantage of this respite to extend her domains. When Nebuchadrezzar recovered he regained not only his mind but also his kingdom. In his own words: "At the same time that my sanity was restored, my honour and splendour were returned to me for the glory of my kingdom. My advisers and nobles sought me out, and I was restored to my throne and became even greater than before." (Dan. 4:36) He not only regained his kingdom, he enlarged it. He immediately began plans to invade Egypt!

[24] The nature of the illness is irrelevant. Nebuchadrezzar lived in seclusion and was unable to effectively govern the country. We will argue in chapter 4 that Taharka took advantage of this incapacity of the Babylonian king to encroach on Babylonian territory at least as far as the Armenian highlands and the vicinity of Ashur.

Figure 9: Nebuchadrezzar's Wars (597-564 B.C.)



The invasion awaited only one other preliminary event. This time our attention is directed toward Egypt.

The Nile Flood.

Consistently we have quoted the Hebrew Bible in English translation from the *New International Version*. Only once have we needed to alter the translation. At the time we refrained from doing so. When Ezekiel was quoted regarding the duration of the exile the troublesome passage was left unchanged (see above, p. 21). Now we return to correct our oversight. For convenience we repeat the quote with the necessary change. God is speaking:

> I will make the land of Egypt a ruin and a desolate waste from Midgol to Aswan, as far as the border of Cush. *A man's foot will not pass over it and no foot of beast will pass over it; then it will be uninhabited for forty years*. I will make the land of Egypt desolate among devastated lands, and her cities will lie desolate forty years among ruined cities. I will disperse the Egyptians among the nations and scatter them through the countries. (Ezek. 29: 10-12[25]

[25] The italics are added and the italicized line is my own translation. Explanation follows immediately.

According to the *NIV* all clauses of verse eleven, the highlighted section, are descriptive of the state of affairs in Egypt during the forty-year exile. It translates accordingly: "No foot of man or animal will pass through it; no one will live there for forty years." (Ezek. 29:11 NIV) This appears to overstate the case. Elsewhere Ezekiel identifies a surviving remnant. Long before the exile ends rebuilding activity will be feverishly underway. Admittedly hyperbole is a common feature of prophetic literature, and is often employed by Ezekiel. But the reference to a total absence of migratory life forms, both human and animal, for a period of forty years, is unparalleled. The initial clauses of verse eleven cannot reasonably refer to the post invasion state of affairs.

Hebrew syntax admits the possibility, and circumstances suggest the probability, that the initial clauses of verse eleven refer to the state of affairs immediately *preceding* the invasion. First there would occur a temporary cessation of movement within Egypt, then would follow the invasion and a forty-year desolation of the country. There is only one possible explanation.

One of the three seasons of the Egyptian calendar is called Akhat - the inundation. That fact reflects the importance of the event. The inundation of the Nile was without doubt the most dominant aspect of life in ancient Egypt. The claim by Herodotus that "Egypt is a gift of the Nile" well deserves its proverbial status. On the annual flood all life depended. But the Nile flood had negative aspects. When the Nile floods, movement within Egypt is severely restricted. When the Nile floods excessively, movement on land all but stops. "No foot of man or beast passes over it." We should therefore interpret the initial clauses of Ezekiel 29:11 as a reference to a Nile flood, probably one of unprecedented proportions, and translate the verse accordingly as an inferential statement. When A happens then B will follow. Before the invasion Egypt would have a brief time in which to reflect, a poignant pause before the coming storm. First an inundation of the Nile which would literally bring all movement in the country to a halt, albeit temporarily; then an invasion and resulting devastation which would interrupt for forty years the "settled life" of the nation. The historical revision that follows will confirm this interpretation.

The Reliability of the Prophetic Oracles

So much for the historical record provided by the two prophets. Before proceeding, we should underscore the fundamental reliability of these eyewitness accounts. We cannot imagine two witnesses more aptly positioned to view the events they describe. Ezekiel - domiciled in the homeland of the invading army, privy to the local "news", able to view the departing and returning armies, and, more importantly, the arrival of captive Egyptians; and Jeremiah - inhabitant of Tahpanhes, the fortress town initially conquered by the Babylonian army and the base camp of Nebuchadrezzar for the military operations which followed. While we know nothing of the fate of these prophets, we do know they had disciples who faithfully recorded their oracles and who collated and

disseminated their writings. The substantial historicity of their "prophecies" with respect to activity beyond the borders of Egypt, particularly in Judah, has never been questioned. We should expect therefore, that in relation to the invasion of Egypt they can be taken at face value.

The critic will surely counter with the claim that the books which bear the names of Ezekiel and Jeremiah are prophetic in nature and poetic in composition, and are unreliable as historical sources on that account. We respond to this opinion with one important observation. No scholar critical of the historical accuracy of the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel dare claim they were recorded after the fact of the invasion. That a prophet would deliberately create a fiction, open to the ridicule of his contemporaries, flies in the face of reason. The critic is therefore obliged to claim that the prophets spoke before the event, responding reasonably but wrongly to developing political trends. Their prognoses were well intentioned, but as events unfolded they proved to be inaccurate. But this view ignores the minutia of detail in the oracles. A political forecast is one thing; a detailed exposition of an invasion is quite another.

This opinion also disregards the basic tenets of the Jewish literary tradition that preserved the writings of Ezekiel and Jeremiah through the ages. Within decades of the return of Judah from its exile in 539 B.C., and only shortly after the end of the Egyptian exile in 525 B.C., the Jewish community began the process of collecting its national literature. One of the essential qualifications for the incorporation of a prophetic writing into these national archives was its substantial accuracy. The false prophet was not honoured by giving his work pride of place among the literature of the nation; he deserved to die. This philosophy is clearly articulated in the biblical text:

> But a prophet who presumes to speak in my name anything I have not commanded him to say, or a prophet who speaks in the name of other gods, must be put to death. You may say to yourselves, "How can we know when a message has not been spoken by the Lord?" If what a prophet proclaims in the name of the Lord does not take place or come true, that is a message the Lord has not spoken. (Dt. 18:20-22)

It is inconceivable that the oracles of Jeremiah and Ezekiel would have been accepted as legitimate by a community not yet a generation removed from the events they describe, if they were not true in every detail. The critic who rejects the historicity of the invasion of Egypt as described above is not discrediting two eyewitnesses; he is rejecting the acknowledgment of a nation. The entire post-exilic Jewish community consisted of returnees of those Judaeans dispersed by Nebuchadrezzar's wars. It is unthinkable that they were mistaken. There should be no doubt that the Egyptian exile is a fact of history. If 20th century historians say otherwise, they are wrong.

Amasis or Exile

The Opinion of Contemporary Historians

What do modern historians say about the invasion and ensuing exile of Egypt? When we read any current history of Egypt we are perplexed to find, in most instances, no reference to either event. Much is made of the Assyrian invasions of 671, 667, and 664 B.C., the alleged Persian conquest in 525 B.C., and the victory of Alexander in 332 B.C., though these assaults pale in comparison with the holocaust of 564 B.C. A few authors entertain the possibility of a border encounter between Babylonian and Egyptian armies, but no devastation beyond the eastern delta. The notion of a forty-year interruption in Egyptian political history is never entertained as a possibility. Why this state of affairs in spite of the clear testimony of the prophets? There must be some compelling reason for dismissing outright the contrary opinion. We find the answer by reading any history of the time in question.

The exile, as we have noted, must have occurred in the forty-year period ending with the arrival of Cambyses in Egypt, that is, in the time frame 564-525 B.C. In the currently adopted Egyptian chronology this time slot is occupied by the terminal kings of the Egyptian 26th (Saïte) dynasty. The penultimate king of this dynasty, Ahmose-sa-Neith, called Amasis by the Greek authors, ruled almost the whole of this time, a proverbial 44 years, from 570 B.C. to 526 B.C. Only the brief six-month reign of his son Ankhkanre Psamtik (Psamtik III) separated Amasis' death from the arrival of Cambyses and the end of the dynasty. In the view of historians, the reign of Amasis was one of thriving commercial activity. A single comment by one early Egyptologist says it all:

> Of the home government of Amasis, ... we know little save the fact that, as Herodotus says, the kingdom under his rule attained a high state of wealth and prosperity and populousness. The Mediterranean trade in corn, wine and oil flourished, as also did that across the desert from Babylonia and from Yemen with lapis, incense, and other products of the East, and from Cush came ivory and gold in barter. According to the Greek historian, Egypt had twenty thousand towns in his time. We see that Amasis was able to build temples to the gods on the great scale, rivalling that of the older Pharaohs, and here again the monuments confirm Herodotus. Several are dated in the joint reign of Amasis and Apries, who had himself been no inconsiderable builder. The Saïte kings were wealthy ... [26]

Small wonder that an extended exile has no place in Egyptian history. If Amasis ruled for forty-four years in the time frame specified, whether or not Herodotus is correct regarding the prosperity of the country, then the prophets are mistaken. Conversely, if

[26] H.R. Hall CAH 1st 3:306-7

the prophets are correct, as we believe them to be, then Amasis must be wrongly positioned in history. The issue is as simple as that. Is it possible that historians have misplaced the Saïte king? On what bases is Amasis placed in the latter half of the 6th century B.C., immediately preceding the arrival of the Persians?

When we quoted H.R. Hall concerning the prosperity of Egypt in the age of Amasis it was immediately apparent that his primary source of information was the Greek historian Herodotus. In fact most of what is known about the Saïte and Persian dynasties derives from this one historian, including our knowledge of the transition period between the two dynasties. In book three of his *Histories* Herodotus describes in great detail Amasis' death, the defeat of Psamtik III by Cambyses, the execution of Psamtik's children, and Cambyses' brutal treatment of the religious institutions of the country. If this history is even remotely factual, there can be no doubt that the reign of Amasis ended only shortly before the 525 B.C. arrival of Cambyses. But the reliability of Herodotus has been seriously questioned. It is therefore important to note that he is supported in his placement of Amasis by two other sources, Manetho and Udjahorresne(t). We mention them briefly at this time. More will be said later.

Manetho, an Egyptian priest living under Seleucid rule in the 3rd century B.C., wrote a history of Egypt in the Greek language, unfortunately no longer extant, but preserved in extract form by Africanus and Eusebius, Greek authors who lived in the early centuries of the current era. What is preserved of Manetho's history amounts to little more than a listing of Egyptian pharaohs from Menes, the proverbial founder of kingship in Egypt, to the arrival of Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. This "king list", divided for convenience into thirty dynasties, continues to function as the basis of the traditional Egyptian historical framework. Manetho's apparent support for Herodotus is marginal, but needs to be noted. By listing the Saïte dynasty as his 26th, and the dynasty of Persian kings from Cambyses to Darius II as his 27th, he gives at least the impression that the two dynasties ruled Egypt sequentially. Citing Amosis and Psammecherites as names of the last kings of the Saïte dynasty, and Cambyses as the first Persian ruler, he appears to confirm the details of the succession provided by Herodotus two centuries earlier. But this apparent confirmation is mitigated by two factors, namely, 1) the fact that several of Manetho's dynasties have been shown to overlap one another, which leaves room for the possibility that they are not to be taken sequentially in this instance, and 2) the possibility that Manetho is merely following Herodotus and mirroring his mistake.

Much stronger support is forthcoming from a hieroglyphic inscription written by an Egyptian official named Udjahorresne, identified as "the commander of sea-faring ships under both Amasis and Psamtik III"[27]. This tiny statuette preserves the only hieroglyphic inscription of significant historical value contemporary with the beginning of Persian rule in Egypt. It is extremely important precisely on this account. Where Herodotus and Manetho postdate the Persian arrival in Egypt by at least a century, the

[27] Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), p. 366

Udjahorresne inscription unquestionably dates to the time of Cambyses and Darius I. The stela was apparently brought to Rome by one of the imperial Roman emperors and is today the property of the Vatican. The text was one of the first inscriptions translated after Champollion's decipherment of the hieroglyphic script in the early 19th century. What is singularly important in the present context is the identity of Udjahorresne as stated above. The identification is that provided by Udjahorresne himself, for he begins his inscription by listing among his credentials his official duties as "head of the royal navy under the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Khnemibre" and "head of the royal navy under the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ankhkare". Since Khnemibre and Ankhkanre are recognized as the throne names (prenomen) respectively of Amasis and his son Psamtik III, Udjahorresne's association with Amasis and his son has never been questioned. And since Udjahorresne goes on to describe the beginnings of a new career under Cambyses and then under Darius, we have here what appears to be unimpeachable evidence that Amasis was the immediate predecessor of Cambyses.

Since Herodotus, Manetho, and Udjahorresne were all accessible to 19th century historians, the terminal date 525 B.C. for the end of the Saïte dynasty was widely accepted early in that century. Two discoveries of significance later in the 19th century established, with equal assurance, the date when the dynasty began, and provided an important synchronism between the date of the beginning of the dynasty and the independently established chronology of Assyria. We refer to the excavation of the famed Serapeum of the Apis bull cult of Memphis, and the recovery of the library of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal in Nineveh.

Serapeum Stelae & Assyrian Annals

In 1850 Auguste Mariette discovered the location of the burial chambers of the Apis bull cult of Osiris/Ptah, a sequence of surface chapels and subterranean tombs known in antiquity as the Serapeum. In these vaults were buried the mummified remains of the deified Apis bulls, animals conceived to be, while alive, the temporal residence of the god Osiris. In these chambers Mariette found hundreds of inscribed stelae, placed there by devotees of the cult through the hundreds of years during which the cult flourished. Of particular relevance are a half dozen "official" stelae deposited by the priests during the time of the Saïte dynasty, so worded that they enable historians to reconstruct the length of reign of the first five Saïte kings with remarkable accuracy. According to these stelae the kings from Psamtik I to Amasis ruled for a combined total of 138 years. The addition of a year for the brief reign of Psamtik III, for which no Serapeum material exists, brings the length of the dynasty to 139 years. If it ended with the arrival of Cambyses in 525 B.C., then its beginning must be dated to 664 B.C. Firm absolute dates were thus provided for the entire dynasty (see Table 1 below).

At this point the second 19th century discovery comes into play. The excavations conducted by the pioneering archaeologist/adventurer Layard at Nineveh recovered

thousands of inscribed cuneiform tablets from the library of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal, whose reign spanned the years 669-628 B.C. Several of these tablets were from the official historical annals of Ashurbanipal and revealed *inter alia* the hitherto unsuspected fact that Egypt was once a vassal state of Ashurbanipal and his father Esarhaddon. The annals describe the invasion and conquest of Egypt in 671 B.C. by Esarhaddon, detail several attempted rebellions of the subject kings and their suppression by Ashurbanipal, and name an Ethiopian king Tarqu as the earlier opponent of Esarhaddon and the instigator of the subsequent coup attempts. In 665 B.C. Ashurbanipal drove the rebel Tarqu from Egypt for the last time. Since the next year a king Urdamanie had replaced Tarqu as the opponent of Ashurbanipal the assumption is made that Tarqu died in 664 B.C.

The combined evidence from the two 19th-century discoveries provided a chronological anchor date for the traditional history and further confirmed the accuracy of the Saïte dynasty chronology. The argument is essentially as follows:

1) The Serapeum stelae confirm the length of the Saïte dynasty as 139 years.[28] Since Cambyses killed the last Saïte king in 525 B.C., the dynasty must have begun in 664 B.C.

2) One Serapeum stela[29] clearly identifies the immediate predecessor of Psamtik I as Taharka, who must be the same as Manetho's Taracos, the last of the 25th Ethiopian dynasty kings of Egypt. Since Psamtik began his reign in 664 B.C. it follows that Taharka must have died that same year.

3) The Assyrian annals that describe the invasions of Ashurbanipal name Tarqu as the Libyan king who stirred up both Egyptian rebellions. Tarqu was driven from the country around 665 B.C. and probably died the next year.

4) The probability is thus established that Tarqu of Ashurbanipal's annals and Taharka of the Serapeum stela are one and the same person.

5) The date 664 B.C. for the death of Taharka (Tarqu) thus synchronizes the chronologies of Egypt and Assyria.

The identity of Tarqu and Taharka has never been questioned. The coincidence of name and date is compelling.

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[28] Strictly speaking they confirm that the dynasty, from Psamtik I through Amasis, lasted 138 years. The extra year is added to accommodate the reign of Psamtik III, which is unattested.

[29] This stela is discussed in detail in chapter 5.

Two important chronological facts are forthcoming from the Apis stela which links Psamtik I and Taharka. The first, already mentioned, is confirmation that Taharka immediately preceded Psamtik, thus confirming that the 25th and 26th dynasties are sequential. But the stela also provides information about the length of Taharka's reign. It refers to an Apis bull born in the 26th year of Taharka, which died in the 20th year of Psamtik I. Since the deceased bull was twenty-one years old at death the inscription left no doubt that the 26th year was Taharka's last regnal year. This established the length of Taharka's reign. Accordingly, the dates of this Ethiopian king are listed by most authorities as 690-664 B.C.[30] These dates for Taharka, with only slight variations, have been firmly in place since the time of Breasted at the turn of the 20th century.

Table 1: Traditional Saïte Dynasty Dates [31]

25th (Ethiopian) dynasty (earlier kings omitted)
Taharka 690-664 B.C.
ASHURBANIPAL ATTACKS THEBES 664 B.C.
26th (Saïte) dynasty begins (139 years)
Wahibre Psamtik (Psamtik I) 664-610 B.C.
Wahemibre Necao (Necho) 610-595 B.C.
Neferibre Psamtik (Psamtik II) 595-589 B.C.
Ha'a'ibre Wahibre (Apries) 589-570 B.C.
Khnemibre 'Ahmose-sa-Neith (Amasis) 570-526 B.C.
'Ankhkanre Psamtik (Psamtik III) 526-525 B.C.
INVASION OF CAMBYSES 525 B.C.

[30] We will demonstrate in chapter 5 that the rule of Taharka extended briefly into his 27th year. Regardless, he reigned a full 26 years, and on the assumption that he died in 664 B.C., his reign must begin in 690 B.C.

[31] Apart from the 690 B.C. date for the beginning of Taharka's reign, the dates in this table are taken verbatim from Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 450-452. Since we argue later that Ankhkanre Psamtik III does not belong where positioned in the traditional history it follows that the dates in the few years at the close of the 5th century will be altered in this revision. The changes will be slight.

The chronological outline sketched above evokes from Sir Alan Gardiner, the author of the popular *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1963), a rare expression of confidence. Referring to the dates for Taharka he confidently affirms: "These two dates are certain".[32] This assurance necessarily extends to the dates of the Saïte dynasty kings who follow. The "certain" dates for the Saïte dynasty are reproduced in Table 1 above.

While this by no means exhausts the evidence that undergirds the confidence of Egyptologists, these are its main features. The evidence is indeed persuasive, at least in the summary form in which it has been outlined. We would have expected nothing else. To set aside testimony of eyewitnesses of the most impeccable character as has been done in discounting the Jewish prophets Ezekiel and Jeremiah, there needed to be compelling evidence to the contrary. The 664 B.C. date for the beginning of the Saïte dynasty has stood the test of time. Historians and historical revisionists alike begin their careful treatment of Egypt's past by working backward from this date. It has become an axiom among students of Egyptian history that from 690 B.C. through the end of the dynastic period of Egypt and the arrival of Alexander in 334 B.C., Egyptian chronology is on secure footing. The date 690 B.C. for the beginning of Taharka's reign, and the date 664 B.C. for his death, are the anchor points of all historical studies related to dynastic Egypt.

The cautious reader is perhaps wondering by now whether this revision should proceed - it being apparent that we do intend to relocate Amasis. What is more, it must be evident that the entire Saïte dynasty must move along with Amasis. In spite of appearances to the contrary, it does not belong in the time frame 664-525 B.C. But the proposed revision is far more comprehensive than the relocation of a single dynasty. Already it has been established that the beginning of the Saïte dynasty is linked to Taharka and thus to the end of the 25th. It follows that the 25th dynasty in its entirety must follow the movement of the 26th. As we shall soon see, we are unable to break the established connection between Egyptian dynasties as far back as the middle of the sequence of Libyan kings of Egypt, Manetho's 22nd dynasty. When the Saïte kings are moved to their rightful place in history, they will trail behind them almost four other dynasties. Fully 300 years of established history will be displaced. And this is just the beginning.

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[32] Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 450, n.3. Gardiner, for unexplained reasons, begins the dynasty in 689 B.C. rather than 690 B.C. We adopt the 690 B.C. date along with most scholars, especially in view of the comments in note 30.

Chapter 2: A Saite /Persian Dynasty

Displaced Dynasties

Resolving the Conflict

Convincing eyewitness testimony argues that Egypt was left a desolate, sparsely populated wasteland in the wake of the 564 B.C. invasion of the country by Nebuchadrezzar. Compelling circumstantial evidence argues that the invasion did not occur at all, or that, if it did take place, it was confined to the north-eastern Delta and left no break in the pharaonic tradition. Were the prophets mistaken? Or have the monuments been misinterpreted? Can the conflict be resolved by the simple expedient of moving Amasis and the dynastic succession of which he is part, to a new place in history? It should not take long to determine the answer. Relocating almost three hundred years of history should result immediately in a multitude of irresolvable conflicts. Unless, of course, the sequence of kings belongs elsewhere and has been correctly repositioned. In that event conflicts should be resolved, not created.

A Shift of 121 Years

We look for a place in history to move the forty-four year rule of Ahmose-sa-Neith? In Gardiners epic history *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, in his discussion of Persian rule in Egypt, we read the following innocuous but inviting comment: "The forty years ending with the death of Darius II in 404 B.C. are a complete blank so far as Egypt is concerned, and it is only amid the stirring events attending the accession of Artaxerxes II that she re-enters upon the Middle Eastern stage".[33] Following this lead and with due caution we venture to move Amasis forward 121 years, overlapping the end of the 27th dynasty, to fill the void noted by Gardiner. His dates are uniformly lowered from 570-526 B.C. to 449-405 B.C. The earlier Saite[34] kings and Taharka dutifully follow, drawing dynasties 22 through 24 in their wake. The revision is essentially complete. If simplicity is the hallmark of a good theory, we are on the right track.

This displacement of the Saite dynasty into the 5th century is neither impulsive nor arbitrary. The lack of Egyptian monuments from the first Persian occupation (dynasty 27) already argues convincingly that something is wrong with the traditional history of this period. From Cambyses to Darius II only scraps of inscriptional material are forthcoming from Egypt, this at a time when the histories of neighbouring countries are increasingly well documented. G. Posener's classic collection of hieroglyphic inscriptions from this century contains barely a hundred items, most being one-line

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[33] Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 371-2.

[34] In the title of this chapter, and henceforth in the book, we will omit the umlaut in Saïte (pronounced Sa-eet) in keeping with the practice of many book writers.

inscriptions on vases and sundry artifacts.[35]

Most conspicuous by their absence are records of the day-to-day operations of the dominant religious institutions of the country. Where are the Apis bull records of the Memphite priests from this century? What happened to the cult of Amon in Thebes with its high priesthood and its god's wives? Did temple worship come to a complete stop for 120 years?

We wonder additionally whether all building activity ceased for this extended period of time. We should conclude from the lack of contradictory evidence that for an entire century in Egypt no tombs were constructed; no temples were built; no buildings of any kind were erected. Neither were repairs to existing buildings recorded.

It is admitted by scholars that Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, and Darius II never visited Egypt. They were absentee landlords. Save for a few demotic papyri dated in their reigns, scattered graffiti at the stone quarries, and some indication that Darius II sponsored building activity in the Khargeh Oasis, these kings are virtually unknown. Who was ruling in Egypt? The Persian satraps (governors) were frequently absent from the provinces of the Persian Empire they administered. They could be absent because in most instances native officials or kings maintained a semblance of local authority. Where are the Egyptian officials? Where are the Egyptian kings? During the Assyrian occupation following 671 B.C. twenty Egyptian dignitaries/kings administered localized territory within Egypt while the Assyrians exercised suzerainty over the country. Are we to believe that the Persians, renowned for their tolerance, were more repressive than the Assyrians, and permitted no native government to exist?

The Greek historians provide tantalizing hints that the 26th dynasty pharaohs were alive and well and ruling within Egypt during the first Persian domination. Herodotus mentions the lengthy insurrection of Inaros, son of a king Psammetichus, overlapping the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes. (Her. 7.7.1) Plutarch mentions a "king of Egypt" sending corn to Athens in 445-444 B.C. (Plut. Per. 37) and Philochorus (fr. 90) identifies this king as Psammetichus, king of Libya, the son of Inaros. Amyrtaeus, the sole occupant of Manetho's 28th dynasty (404-399 B.C.) is identified by Diodorus as a "Psammetichus, the king of the Egyptians, …a descendant of the famous Psammetichus" (Diod. Sic.14.35.4). And only recently scholars have been forced to hypothesize the existence of a Psamtik IV, living and ruling in the Persian period, close to where we have relocated Psamtik II.[36] Why these persistent references to Saite dynasty kings in 5th century Egypt if the Saite dynasty actually ruled in the 7th and 6th centuries?[37]

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[35] G. Posener, *La Premiere Domination Perse En Egypte* (1936)

[36] E. Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," Serapis 5 (1980) 35-9; cf. P.W. Pestman, "The Diospolis Parva Documents, Chronological Problems concerning Psammeticus III & IV," in J. Thissens/Th. Zauzich eds. *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift fur Erich Luddeckens zum 15 Juni 1983.*

[37] Immanuel Velikovsky, in his *Peoples of the Sea* (1978) p. 93-98 and *Ramses II & His Times*

If indeed Saite dynasty rule is coterminous with the Persian occupation we should anticipate, as was the case during the Assyrian domination of the country a century earlier, that multiple individuals acted as administrators over various regions of Egypt, some bearing the title "king". The revolt of Inaros, described by several Greek historians, includes reference to an Amyrtaeus - distinct from the 28th dynasty king Amyrtaeus - ruling in Lower Egypt. An enigmatic monumental inscription alluding to a king Khababash, contemporary with Xerxes, argues as well for multiple rulers at this time. The traditional history of the 5th century fails to explain these and other anomalies.

We argue in the following chapters that the prolonged historical vacuum in the 5th century is a result of a chronological error rather than an absence of political activity? What else but silence should result when the majority of the legitimate occupants of this century have been mistakenly moved elsewhere? When we move the Saite dynasty forward in time to overlap the Egyptian 27th dynasty we are merely giving back to the 5th century its displaced occupants.

Revised Saite Dynasty Dates

Ignoring for the time being the temporal shifts of the earlier 25th dynasty Ethiopian kings and the occupants of dynasties 22-24, we pause to consider the implications of the proposed change in Saite dynasty dates. The charm of this proposed chronological revision lies in the ease with which existing history can be modified. First we subtract 121 years from all Saite dynasty dates listed earlier in table 1. Then we introduce divisions necessary if the invasion and exile are historical realities. The result is shown below in table 2.

(1979) p. 60, n. 4 has already argued that Nekau and Psamthek belong in the 5th century. Unfortunately he failed to follow up on the implications of his observations.

Table 2: Revised Saite Dynasty Dates

25th (Ethiopian) dynasty (earlier kings omitted)
Taharka (in Egypt) 569-564 B.C.
INVASION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR 564 B.C.
Taharka (in exile in Ethiopia) 564-543 B.C.
26*th (Saite) dynasty begins (139 years)*
Wahibre Psamtik (under Cyrus and Cambyses) 543-525 B.C.
ARRIVAL OF CAMBYSES 525 B.C.
Wahibre Psamtik (under Cambyses & Darius 1) 525-489 B.C.
Wahemibre Necao (Necho) 489-474 B.C.
Neferibre Psamtik (Psamtik II) 474-468 B.C.
Ha'a'ibre Wahibre (Apries) 468-449 B.C.
Khnemibre 'Ahmose-sa-Neith (Amasis) 449-405 B.C.
Ankhkanre Psamtik (Psamtik III) 405-404 B.C.[38]

Since the Saite kings now share the identical time frame assigned to the 27th dynasty kings, we must be constantly mindful of the dates of the Persian kings. For the record they are reproduced in table 3 below.

[38] This king does not belong here. In due course we will argue that Amyrtaeus, the 28th dynasty king whose reign began around 405 B.C., who was also called Psamtik, succeeded Amasis. He alone deserves the title Psamtik III.

Table 3: Dates for the 1st Persian Occupation of Egypt (27th Dynasty)

27th (Persian) dynasty
INVASION OF CAMBYSES 525 B.C.
Cambyses 525—522 B.C.
Darius I (son of Hystaspes) 522-486 B.C.
Xerxes 486-466 B.C.
Artaxerxes (Longimanus) 465-424 B.C.
Darius II (son of Xerxes) 424-404 B.C.

We have no quarrel with these dates for the 27th dynasty kings. They are essentially correct.[39] With one notable exception.

The error in Table 3 relates to the founding of the dynasty, and thus to the initial row(s). In the traditional history the 27th dynasty began with the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 B.C. Since the dynasty ended with the death of Darius II in 404 B.C. it lasted precisely 121 years. When the 139 year long 26th dynasty is moved forward 121 years to overlap the 27th there are 18 excessive years to account for, since we believe both dynasties ended in 404 B.C. The solution to the problem is patent. Persian rule over Egypt did not begin in 525 B.C. as described in the textbooks.

[39] The dating system used by Egyptian kings of the 26th Saite dynasty was investigated a half century ago by Alan H. Gardiner, "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt," JEA 31 (1945) 11-28; and the system employed by the Persian rulers of the 27th dynasty only recently by Leo Depuydt, "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Achaemenid Egypt," JEA 81 (1995) 151-173. The inherent assumption in both articles is that these dynasties were successive, not overlapping. Gardiner concluded, on the basis of the extensive documentation afforded by the Serapeum stelae, that the Säite rulers dated their regnal years from new year (Thoth 1) to new year, and used a predating (or non-accession year) system, in which the year of a king's death was reckoned both as the last year of that king and the first year of his successor. We agree entirely with Gardiner in his analysis and his assignment of relative dates for the Saite kings, save for his inclusion of the reign of Psamtik III following Amasis. There is absolutely no evidence from the monuments supporting the existence of this king at this time. We will argue in chapter 11 that the Psamtik mentioned by Herodotus as the successor of Amasis is not Ankhanre Psamtik. Depuydt's analysis of the Persian kings is also generally acceptable. Certainly his conclusion that they used an accession year system is correct. Several of his dates, particularly those of Artaxerxes I and Darius II will need to be adjusted by at most a single year. The matter will be discussed further in chapter 10.

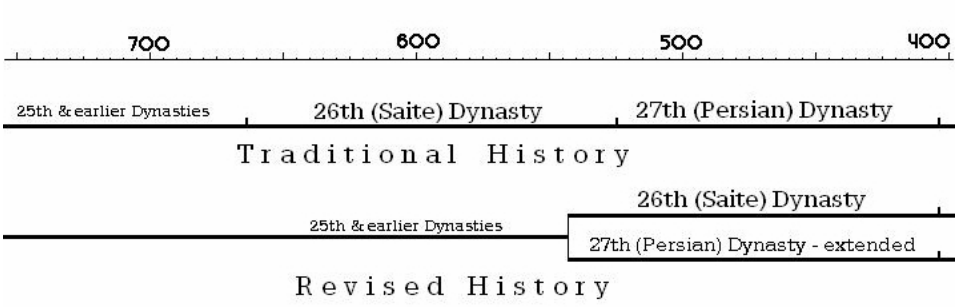
When Cambyses arrived in Egypt in 525 B.C. he was already its ruler, having inherited the Persian throne, and with it suzerainty over Egypt, five years earlier at the death of his father Cyrus. The rule of Cyrus in Egypt began much earlier. At first Cyrus ruled only the relatively obscure province of Parsua, east of the Tigris. His kingdom expanded westward to the Aegean in 546 B.C., then south and east until he occupied all lands formerly held by the neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus, descendant of Nebuchadrezzar. Finally, in 539 B.C. Cyrus overran Babylon and ruled the near-eastern world. Momentarily we will argue that in 543 B.C., as part of this territorial expansion, he conquered Egypt. The dates for the beginning of the 1st Persian occupation of Egypt, listed in table 3, are therefore incorrect, and are emended in table 4.

Table 4: Revised Dates for the 1st Persian Occupation of Egypt

27th (Persian) dynasty (extended)
Cyrus 543-530 B.C.
Cambyses 530—522 B.C.
Darius I (son of Hystaspes) 522-486 B.C.
Xerxes 486-466 B.C.
Artaxerxes (Longimanus) 465-424 B.C.
Darius II (son of Xerxes) 424-404 B.C.

This phase of our revision is essentially complete. By lowering Saite dynasty dates 121 years we have uprooted that 139 year long dynasty from its traditional 7th/6th century placement, dragging it to a new location overlapping the 1st Persian domination of Egypt, the latter extended appropriately. The 25th and earlier dynasties follow in its train. The result is depicted visually in figure 10 below.

Figure 10: Timeline – The Saite Dynasty Displaced 121 Years



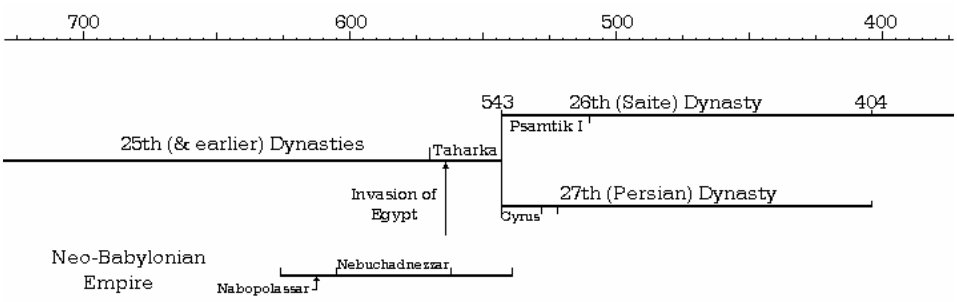
Reflections on the Revised Chronology

From a literary perspective this summary of the revised history is unfortunate. The element of surprise is forfeit; the mystery gone. There was no other choice. Over three hundred years of Egyptian history must move as a unit or remain where it is. The only significant questions, the size and direction of the movement, are necessarily stated at the outset. How else do we prove history wrong than to establish it in its proper place. There are advantages, however, to the present approach. What is lost in intrigue is gained in clarity. The most casual reader will immediately know what needs to be proved. A glance at the charts is all that is required. When we summarize below the consequences of the proposed revision we are merely examining the tables and figures and stating the obvious.

The list that follows is suggestive of what needs to be proved. It serves additionally as a table of contents for the book. The reader should be ever mindful that it is Egyptian chronology that is in error, not the chronologies of Israel, Assyria, or Babylon, the other dominant players in our drama. When the dynasties move, they move against the background of an established history for these three nations. The 25th Ethiopian dynasty, which formerly preceded, now follows the Assyrian invasion of Egypt of 671 B.C. Taharka (569-543 B.C.) is a contemporary of Nebuchadrezzar, not of Ashurbanipal. Nebuchadrezzar did not invade a country ruled by Ahmose sa-Neith; his invasion took place early in Taharka's reign (see figure 11). Cambyses did not arrive in Egypt in the last days of Amasis, thus bringing the Saite dynasty to an end; he was greeted by Psamtik I (543-489 B.C.), the first in a succession of Persian governors/kings of the emerging 26th dynasty.

Without the charts we will quickly lose our way.

Figure 11: Invasion of Nebuchadrezzar (Revised Chronology)



There remains for us to prove that:

1. Taharka of the 25th dynasty is not the same as Tarqu of the Assyrian annals. They are separated in time by a full century. Gardiner's confidence notwithstanding, Taharka's dates are not certain; they are in error by 121 years! The history of the early 7th century needs to be rewritten, if only to dislodge the Ethiopian dynasty from an historical context in which it plays no part. Tirhakah of the Hebrew Bible and Tarqu of the Assyrian annals need to be identified. [Chapter 3]

2. The Egyptian Pharaoh Necho who killed Josiah and who for years contested with Babylon for control of the Hatti lands, and the Wahibre (Hophra) whose activity provoked the wrath of God in Ezekiel's oracle, are not the second and fourth kings of the Saite dynasty, in spite of the coincidental correspondence in names and dates. Their true identity needs to be sought among the earlier kings of the 25th dynasty. Alternative identifications are readily available. [Chapter 4 and the second book in this series]

3. Taharka was not driven out of Thebes by Ashurbanipal and he did not die in 664 B.C. He was driven from Memphis by Nebuchadrezzar in 564 B.C., late in his 6th or early in his 7th year. He lived out the balance of his life in Ethiopia. The Egyptian invasion and exile lie entirely within the reigns of Taharka and Psamtik 1, where reign lengths are accurate to within a year. This allows us to test our revision within very strict limits. We expect to find evidence of Taharka's conflict with Babylon, of the loss of his Egyptian kingdom after his 7th year and of the presence of a Babylonian army in Egypt preceding the arrival of Psamtik I. [Chapter 4]

4. Psamtik I was not the ultimate authority in Egypt, exercising rule over a united kingdom. Throughout his reign he served Persian overlords. Some time between 546 B.C. when Cyrus defeated Croesus of Lydia and 539 B.C. when Babylon fell and Cyrus ruled the world, Egypt passed from Babylonian to Persian control. Psamtik I became

governor/king in Egypt. The year was 543 B.C. We expect to find evidence that, early in the career of Psamtik I, extensive repairs were underway to temples and monuments destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar, and long dormant priesthoods were being re-established. Egypt was recovering from its trauma. There was a sparse population. Corruption was prevalent. Skilled artisans were hard to find. Scribes and sculptors copied old works that they barely understood. There remained a vague memory of the holocaust.
[Chapter 5]

5. When Cambyses came to Egypt in 525 B.C. he did not come to conquer. Egypt was already a Persian province. His arrival was non-destructive. Many temples still lay in ruins. Cambyses spent time repairing the country, not destroying it. The *Histories* of Herodotus is heir to a tradition which wrongly ascribes to Cambyses the atrocities committed by Nebuchadrezzar forty years earlier. Monumental evidence exists linking Cambyses and Psamtik I. [chapter 6]

6. The kings Khnemibre and Ankhkare, whose ships were regulated by Udjahorresne, cannot have been Amasis and Psamtik III who lived a century later. They were definitely not kings of Egypt, in spite of their titles. Udjahorresne cannot have been, as he is accused of being, a navy commander who first fought the Persians and then joined them. He is wrongly accused of collaborating with the enemy. His navy did not consist of warships. The record must be set straight. [Chapter 7]

7. Necao was not the military genius who allied Egypt with Assyria and defeated the great Nebuchadrezzar in battle. He was instead a puppet king and an unwilling participant in the wars that Darius I and Xerxes fought on land and sea against Greece. His major accomplishments, the excavation of a Mediterranean-Red Sea canal, the construction of a fleet of triremes, and the circumnavigation of the African continent, must be credited to his Persian masters. [Chapter 8]

8. The civil war between Wahibre (Apries) and Amasis, which supposedly preceded the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar and is depicted in a stela from Elephantine, is actually a concluding episode in the rebellion of Inaros against Artaxerxes I. Details of this revolt are otherwise known through the writings of Diodorus Siculus and Thucidydes.
[Chapter 9]

9. The source of wealth in the time of Amasis can be traced to the rise of Naucratis and the expansion of foreign commerce within Egypt immediately prior to and during the time of the Peloponnesian wars. Several members of the extended family of Amasis had official positions under Artaxerxes and Darius II. [Chapter 10]

10. Psamtik, the successor of Amasis according to Herodotus, is not Ankhkare of the Udjahorresne stela, nor the Ankhkanre of the monuments. According to our revised dates, that honour must be given to Amyrtaeus Psamtik, the sole king of Manetho's 28th dynasty. Activities within this king's reign help to explain how the Saite dynasty became displaced in history. Greek historians and the authors of the Demotic Chronicle

contribute to an understanding of the end of both the 26th Saite dynasty and the first Persian domination. [Chapter 11]

These are by no means the only subjects to be considered in the balance of this book. But they are critical aspects of the problem and they afford the context in which other matters may be introduced. We will treat them in the order in which they are listed. But first a word about Herodotus, and then another word about the Demotic Chronicle.

Herodotus or Pseudo-Herodotus?

When Heinrich Brugsch wrote his *Egypt Under the Pharaohs* in the late 19th century he restricted his comments on dynasties 26 through 30 to a few pages. The editors explain:

> With the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Dr. Brugsch's history practically ends, for it was his special object to write the story of the kingdom of Ancient Egypt from the evidence of the monuments alone. At this point their information becomes but very scanty, while in the fragments of Manetho and among the Greek and Roman authors there is to be found an abundance of material which, even if some of it must be accepted with caution, furnishes us with ample means for laying down the broad outlines of the history of Egypt from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty until its close."[40]

At the outset of the 26th dynasty inscriptional evidence within Egypt practically ceases and we are dependent for history on Greek and Roman historians writing decades or centuries after the fact.

There is no great surprise that the production of monuments all but ceased. The exile marked the end of an artistic tradition stretching backward a thousand years. The artisans were gone, their skills employed in the service of Babylon, then Persia. Only a few survived the invasion. The fact that Psamtik I ruled Egypt for 53 years, yet erected not a single building and inscribed but a handful of monuments, speaks volumes. But what about the Greek and Roman historians? Are they reliable? The question applies particularly to Herodotus.

Secular History Based on Herodotus

The traditional history of the Saite dynasty is derived almost entirely from Herodotus. But the history that emerges in the textbooks is heavily edited. Herodotus makes factual statements; modern historians adapt those facts to an assumed 7th/6th century context.

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[40] Heinrich Brugsch, *Egypt Under the Pharaohs* (1902).

Change the context and the facts would be interpreted differently. There is nothing in Herodotus, apart from his description of the Persian invasion that brought the Saite dynasty to a close, which places it unequivocally in the 7th and 6th centuries. Herodotus is ignorant of any connection between Psamtik I and the Assyrians. He knows nothing of Necho's wars with Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar. The invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar is not mentioned. When the details of Herodotus' Saite history are examined later in this book, in the respective chapters dealing with the Saite kings, we will see that almost everything the Greek historian says suits the Persian context into which we have moved the dynasty. There is but a single exception, namely, the military conflict between Cambyses and the Saite kings Amasis and Psamtik III that terminated the 26th dynasty and initiated foreign rule in Egypt. To set this incident in context and to introduce a secondary problem created by the revised chronology itself, we digress for a moment to look at the structure of the *Histories* of Herodotus.

The *Histories* of Herodotus

The *Histories* was originally an oral discourse, delivered in open forums as entertainment for Greek speaking audiences in and around Athens. Like most oral tradition it grew over time, as anecdotes and historical information were accumulated in the author's travels. Only later was it put into written form.

The existing written version has been divided by contemporary historians into nine major divisions or "books", which are themselves subdivided into sections for reference purposes. Much of Book II - which deals exclusively with Egypt - is not, strictly speaking, historical in nature. The first 34 sections are concerned with geography; sections 35-98 with matters of custom and religion. The historical discussion proper is confined to the final sections 99-182. This historical material can be further divided into two parts - those sections describing Egyptian history before the Saite period (99-146) and those that focus exclusively on the Saite dynasty (147-182). We will consistently refer to the latter as the "Saite History" of Herodotus. It is important to note that there is no fundamental disagreement between the current revision and this Saite history.

The conflict is confined to the initial sections of book three (III: 1-30) where Herodotus describes in great detail the expedition of Cambyses against Egypt. The function of this "Cambyses Expedition Story" in the overall narrative needs to be clarified.

In the final sections of book one Herodotus documents the death of Cyrus and the ascendancy of Cambyses. The few verses that begin book two introduce the so-called “Egyptian digression”, which occupies the whole of book two.

> After the death of Cyrus Cambyses inherited his throne. He was the son of Cyrus and Cassandane daughter of Pharnaspes, for whom, when she died before him, Cyrus himself mourned deeply and bade all his subjects mourn

> also. Cambyses was the son of this woman and Cyrus. He considered the Ionians and Aeolians as slaves inherited from his father, and prepared an expedition against Egypt, taking with him, with others subject to him, some of the Greeks over whom he held sway. (Her. II.1)

Abruptly at this point Herodotus digresses. He begins talking about Psammetichus. "Now before Psammetichus became king of Egypt, the Egyptians deemed themselves to be the oldest nation on earth.". (Her. II.2) There follows the Egyptian discourse, which ends with the "Saite History". Book three resumes the tale of Cambyses expedition to Egypt, describing it in great detail. This "Cambyses Expedition Story" functions both as an ending to the Saite history of chapter two, and as a bridge bringing the narrative back to the Persian history

In the final chapter of this revision we will explain the origins of the Cambyses narrative. The intent here is to discuss its authorship.

Authorship of Herodotus II & III: 1-30

We have registered the complaint that Herodotus is almost singularly responsible for the belief that Amasis and Psamtik III were contemporaries of Cambyses. On that account alone we would have argued with the content of the Cambyses expedition narrative. But the careful reader will recognize by now that we also have a fundamental problem with the Saite history of book two - not with its content, but with its authorship. The problem is created by the revised chronology. With the removal of Amasis to the end of the fifth century the critic will be quick to complain. How is it possible for Herodotus, who died before the end of the 5th century (ca. 425 B.C.), and who supposedly derived his information while visiting Egypt two decades earlier (ca. 450 B.C.), to describe in chapter 2 the prosperous reign of Amasis, which only began in 449 B.C. and did not end until 405 B.C. The question applies equally to the Cambyses narrative in chapter 3, which describes the death of both Amasis and Psamtik III. Herodotus could have authored neither the Saite history nor the Cambyses narrative unless he lived and wrote this portion of his history after the deaths of Amasis and Psamtik III, that is, after 404 B.C.

In fact we have only one problem with a common solution. Both the difficulty with the content of the Cambyses expedition story and the alleged anachronism in the Saite history require much the same solution, namely, the assumption that the whole of Herodotus II and the early sections of Herodotus III are not the work of the 5th century historian. In fact, we argue that the entire treatment of Egyptian geography, culture, and history in Herodotus II was the creation of some later author, a pseudo-Herodotus, who inserted his work into the existing dialogue of Herodotus, supplying the Cambyses material in order to blend his work with the existing Persian history. We will not attempt to identify this author, nor the specific time when the alleged pseudepigraph was

written, though it clearly predates Diodorus Siculus, the 1st century B.C. Roman historian who refers to several of the Egyptian sections and attributes them to Herodotus. The intrusive Egyptian material dates probably to the middle of the Seleucid era. Beyond that we cannot say.

While we cannot identify the pseudo-Herodotus, we can argue for his existence. The arguments have been known for well over a century.

The Uniqueness of Herodotus II

The whole of chapter two of Herodotus differs markedly in tone and construction from the balance of the *Histories*. Its uniqueness has been the subject of much discussion. A. Bauer in his *Die Entstehung des Herodotischen Geschichtswerkes* (1878) argued the thesis that it was written last, late in the life of Herodotus, basing his belief in part on its distinctly anti-Hellenic tone. W.W. How and J. Wells dedicated a section of their classic *Commentary on Herodotus* to this "Peculiar tone of Book II" in which they discuss Bauer's thesis, adding their own observations:

> But if the tone of Bk. II is really different from that of the rest of H(erodotus)'s work, this fact may well be connected with another obvious difficulty as to it. It is hard to conceive an author possessed of the literary skill and sense of form which H (erodotus) undoubtedly had, deliberately composing it in its present place or its present scale. [41]

When we suggest that some later author incorporated chapter two into an existing history we are not introducing any novel thesis. Bauer's claim that the Egyptian material is different in tone from the earlier Herodotus can be construed as an argument that its author was not Herodotus. And it is a very small step from arguing with Bauer, How, and Wells, that the Egyptian material was inserted late by Herodotus, to arguing that it was inserted late by someone else. “If, on the other hand, we suppose that it was written by itself when the rest of the history was practically finished, and then introduced into its present place later, both the difference of tone and the difference of scale explain themselves. It seems not unlikely, therefore, that Bk. II is the latest part of the work of H(erodotus)."[42]

As we have already noted, this insertion of newly created material into an existing work is standard procedure in early oral tradition. Historical works such as Herodotus, and Hecataeus, on whom Herodotus depended for much of his information, were not composed in a single sitting. They grew over time as refinements were made to existing works. It is not known when the entire discourse of Herodotus achieved its final form

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[41] W.W. How & J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (1912), p. 14
[42] Ibid., p. 14

and was put into writing. Traditionalists make the assumption that its final editing antedated the death of Herodotus around 430 B.C. and that the text as presently received is essentially what Herodotus wrote. But there is no evidence that this was the case. Many oral traditions are not put into writing in the author's lifetime. Many pass for centuries before being committed to writing. And bogus additions to the works of famous authors are commonplace.[43]

When was Herodotus written and what was the original content of the *Histories*? The earliest extant written manuscripts of the text are from the 9th to 11th centuries A.D., fifteen centuries after the death of the alleged author. The possibility certainly exists that the Saite history in chapter two and the early sections of chapter three were not part of the original oral tradition or the first written text. We know for certain that a history of Herodotus was known to Ktesias and Thucidydes early in the 4th century B.C. They are both highly critical of its contents. Neither appears to be aware of the second book. Ktesias has a different version of the arrival of Cambyses, one that includes no mention of Amasis or Psamtik. His version of events, discussed later in this book, has not received due attention.

Chapter 2 of Herodotus is arguably late and intrusive. We rest on the authority of How & Wells, whose influential commentary has not been superseded after more than a century. The chapter 3 Cambyses story is also late. It results from a confusion to be detailed in chapter 11. Thus the entirety of II:1-III:30 is the product of a secondary author. Further discussion on the nature of this late redaction is beyond the bounds of the present revision. We expect, however, that a different author would reveal his presence otherwise than by changes of style and content. In fact, that is the case.

The Character of the Pseudo-Herodotus

The 5th century Greek historian has received bad press. Herodotus was criticized by his near contemporaries Thucydides and Ktesias as being more concerned with storytelling than with strict accuracy. "Herodotus was one among many who had more of story and song about them than truth, a storyteller whose main object was to entertain and profit there from"[44] But in spite of the criticism, there is little evidence in the *Histories* that Herodotus was deliberately fraudulent. He might be mistaken in his facts, but he did not

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[43] The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha most clearly reflect this trend. Over sixty works purporting to be written by familiar Old Testament characters are reproduced in the most recent two volume edition of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* edited by James H Charlesworth (1983, 1985). Many of these consist of expansions to existing works, precisely what we claim to be the case with the pseudo-Herodotus. But pseudepigraphs are not restricted to biblical characters. Claims have been made that many existing Greek and Roman texts are the work of impostors, Philo and Hecataeus being among them.

[44] O. Kimball Armayor, "Did Herodotus Ever Go to Egypt," JARCE 15 (1978) p. 60. Armayor here reproduces the sentiments of Thuycydides i.21.1, 22.4; ii. 41.4.

misrepresent himself. That is, except in the Egyptian narrative. Reading any article critical of Herodotus, one is immediately struck by the fact that the criticisms are almost entirely concerned with chapters two and the beginning of chapter three.

A recent article has revived the debate that has raged for the past two centuries concerning the integrity of Herodotus vis-à-vis his discussion of things Egyptian. The object of contention is the claim by Herodotus to have derived his material first hand from his travels through Egypt:

> At the turn of the century (20th century), the face value of Herodotus' travel in Egypt was much in doubt. If Aelius Aristides (2nd cent. A.D.) believed that Herodotus never reached Elephantine, Gardner Wilkinson had the same kind of doubts in the 19th century. A.H. Sayce believed that Herodotus never got as far as Upper Egypt, and he came to doubt that Herodotus went to Egypt at all. By the end of the century F. Ll. Griffith had cut the knot and decided that it did not matter where he went. Of Herodotus' Egypt Griffith wrote, in 1899, that "If occasionally his descriptions are truthful, they present so marked a contrast to the general standard of his history that one is disposed to credit them to other vision than his."[45]

Griffith's frustration with Herodotus was well founded, but misdirected. His quarrel was with the author of the Egyptian material, whom we identify as an impostor.

The problem with Herodotus' statements about Egypt is not so much with *their* accuracy as with *his* integrity, though the two cannot easily be separated. The author of chapter 2 claims to have been to Egypt and to be recording his own observations. But a strong case can be made that he had never even visited the country. He mistakenly describes the Egyptians as black skinned, woolly-haired and circumcised. He claims to have confirmed these personal observations from conversations from the Colchians, supposed kinfolk of the Egyptians, at the time living in Anatolia. O.K. Armayor has recently called into question both claims. He concludes after a lengthy analysis that Herodotus (our pseudo-Herodotus) is not just a gullible and unreliable witness; he is a liar. This is particularly so when he claims to be informed on Egyptian matters by Egyptian priests.

> We come, therefore, to Herodotus' Egyptian priests. Apart from his own experience, Herodotus claims that most of his knowledge of Egypt came from them. But could Herodotus ever really have been admitted to extensive converse with learned Egyptian priests of Memphis, Thebes, Heliopolis, and Sais (ii. 2f., 28)?[46]

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[45]Armayor, op.cit., p.59. The Griffith reference is to an article in D.G. Hogarth, ed. *Authority and Archaeology Sacred and Profane*, 1899, 187 ff.

[46] Ibid, p. 63

Herodotus acknowledges the fact that Egyptians detested Greeks, "yet Herodotus tells us that the priests counselled and tutored him on Egyptian mores and history, and even on Egyptian religion." Armayor goes on to ask how the Greek speaking Herodotus engaged in lengthy conversation with these native Egyptians?

> Perhaps we should also remember the matter of interpreters. Herodotus did not talk to native Egyptian priests without them, and yet he does not mention either interpreters themselves in this connection, or the lack of a need for them.[47]

Alan Lloyd, in his classic treatment of *Herodotus Book II*, produces a lengthy list of problematic features of the Egyptian history. While remaining positive regarding the reliability of book two he does observe that from an historical point of view some things in Herodotus book two "are profoundly disturbing."[48] Additionally Lloyd refers to a more negative appraisal by Heidel a half-century earlier:

> Herodotus' account of Egyptian history, in Heidel's view, cannot possibly derive from Egyptian priests. It is a garbled rehash of what Hecataeus had derived from them and whenever Herodotus mentions *hiereus* [priests] as sources he means his predecessor. In other words, Herodotus is a barefaced liar![49]

The conclusion reached by Armayor was essentially the same as that determined by Heidel in 1935 and by A.H. Sayce at the turn of the twentieth century. The author of the Egyptian material lied about his travels to Egypt.

> What conclusions shall we draw? Herodotus may indeed have gone to Egypt, but his narrative bears little or no relation to whatever his travels may have been on the basis of archaeological evidence now in hand. As Griffith put it in 1899, it is the frequent absence of even superficial knowledge that tries our belief in the veracity of Herodotus.[50]

The problem that bothered these critics is not just what Herodotus said about Egyptian blacks and priests, nor his complete misrepresentation of the backwardness of the country. It was a combination of things he said which any casual visitor to Egypt would know to be false and of things he did not say which the same visitor would very likely have considered worth mentioning:

Armayor fills two pages itemizing the multiple misrepresentations and oversights of the author of the Egyptian discourse, arguing in conclusion that "if we cannot believe that he (Herodotus) saw the Egypt and Egyptians that he talks about, then how do we know that

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[47] Ibid.
[48] A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, 1975, p. 94
[49] Ibid., n. 26. The quoted comments are from Heidel's article "Hecataeus and the Egyptian Priests in Herodotus, Book II," Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences 18 (1935).
[50] Armayor, op. cit., p. 69

he went to Egypt at all?" In summation he voices the opinion that "Herodotus' evidence and authority on Egypt needs re-thinking. It is difficult to imagine a literary genius of wide and varied Greek learning confused enough to set down in full earnest the impressions of Egypt that we find here."[51]

The reputation of Herodotus needs to be rescued. The criticisms directed toward the Egyptian sections should not be reflective on the character of the 5th century historian. He was not their author. Part of the re-thinking suggested by Armayor needs to focus on the question of the authenticity of Herodotus book II.

The Saite History (Herodotus II.147-182)

We return momentarily to the exception that proves the rule - the Saite history. For all the inaccuracy elsewhere in the Egyptian narrative, sections 147-182, the Saite history, are remarkably reliable. The inclusion of a listing of all the Saite kings in their correct order, referenced to reign lengths that are essentially correct, suggests that the author had access to some reliable sources. Whatever distortions are found earlier in chapter two, and later in the Cambyses narrative, a remarkable precision suddenly and surprisingly appears in the Saite history discussions concerning Psammetichus - Herodotus' version of Psamtik's name - and of the descendants of Psammetichus. The author himself admits to having other sources for this portion of his Egyptian history. "Thus far I have recorded what the Egyptians themselves say. I will now relate what is recorded alike by Egyptians and foreigners to have happened in that land, and I will add thereto something of what I myself have seen." (Her. II 147. 1) What follows is reasonably accurate history, save for the additions that the author claims to have made based on his own observations. Even details of the reign of Amasis, though embellished with copious amounts of here-say, are probably reliable. Gardiner claims that "When Herodotus's account of Amasis (570-526 B.C.) is shorn of its lively and picturesque gossip, what is left is likely to be sound history."[52] On balance Herodotus II 147-182 is reliably accurate and it is probably fair to say that this revision gives more credit to the Saite history of Herodotus than is accorded it by modern historians. It will be used throughout the following chapters to argue a 5th century context for the Saite kings. But how do we explain this remarkably accurate history and our reliance on it in spite of what has been argued about the unreliability of the pseudo-Herodotus.

On the assumption that the Egyptian narrative was composed centuries after the fact, we can assume, with reason, that when the pseudo-Herodotus acknowledges his reliance on "what is recorded alike by Egyptians and foreigners to have happened in that land", he refers to existing written histories of Egypt. In particular, since this material was likely inserted into the *Histories* in the Ptolemaic era, we can conjecture that Manetho was one

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[51] Ibid, p. 70-71.
[52] Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961) p. 361.

of his sources. Manetho wrote in Greek, and provided listings of all the Saite kings in their correct order together with their reign lengths. The substance of Manetho's history, not preserved in the later extracts, may well be represented in the Saite history of the pseudo-Herodotus. Even the chapter three material, the result of a confusion explained later in this book, might be attributed to Manetho.

In the balance of this revision we continue to refer to the entirety of the *Histories* as the work of Herodotus, this for convenience sake. But in view of what has been argued above we state categorically that the Egyptian discourse is not the product of the 5th century Herodotus. Armayor appropriately refers to the Greek historian as "a literary genius of wide and varied Greek learning". On the contrary the pseudo-Herodotus, a 3rd or 2nd century pretender, who depended on Hecataeus, Manetho, and others for his Egyptian material, and likely never travelled far from Greece, was anything but learned. He borrowed everything he wrote. He was certainly not honest. We can be thankful to him for preserving in his Saite history some details from Manetho or the sources used also by Manetho. But to him alone can be credited a distortion of history with untoward consequences, for had he not preserved and misplaced the book three account of the Cambyses expedition, the Saite dynasty might well be entrenched today in its correct chronological position overlapping Manetho's 27th dynasty.

The Demotic Chronicle

Amasis died in 405 B.C. The Pseudo-Herodotus preserves a tradition that he was succeeded by a son Psamtik who lived and ruled briefly. Though we question Psamtik's connection with Cambyses in the existing narrative of Herodotus chapter three, it can be argued that Herodotus preserves the memory of an actual historical incident. The event, to be described later in this revision, dates from ca. 399 B.C., not from 525 B.C. From other sources we know that at the death of Darius II in 404 B.C. Egypt rebelled and broke free from Persian control. The leader of its independence movement is named Amyrtaeus by most Greek sources. Manetho identifies him as the sole occupant of his 28th dynasty (404-399 B.C.). In the revised chronology this Amyrtaeus must be the immediate successor of Amasis, and therefore must be Psamtik III. Confirmation is provided by Diodorus Siculus, who describes the activities of the Egyptian successor of Darius II and refers to him as "Psammetichus, the king of the Egyptians, who was a descendant of the famous Psammetichus." (Diod. 14.35.4) Needless to say, scholars do not take Diodorus seriously.

The subject will be taken up again in the concluding chapter, but the reader may begin to see here the source of the faulty Cambyses narrative. If Amasis was followed by a king named Amyrtaeus with personal name Psamtik, and if this king was attacked by a Persian named Cambyses, a namesake of the earlier Persian king, with disastrous results for Egypt, then the resulting confusion is predictable. The later namesake, mistaken for

the earlier Cambyses, caused the pseudo-Herodotus to date Amasis and Psamtik at the beginning of the first Persian domination, rather than at its end.

Following the revolt of Amyrtaeus, Egypt remained free of foreign occupation for close to 60 years (404-343 B.C.), the last taste of independence the country would enjoy. This, at least, according to the traditional history. The kings of dynasties 29 and 30 are of minimal interest to this revision, but since reference is made to them periodically we list them here with their traditional dates (see table 5)

Table 5: Kings of Dynasties 28 – 30

DYNASTY 28:	
Amyrtaeus	404-399 B.C.
DYNASTY 29:	
Nepherites	399-393 B.C.
Achoris	393-380 B.C.
Nepherites	380 B.C.
DYNASTY 30:	
Nekhtnebef	380-363 B.C.
Teos	362-361 B.C.
Nekhthorheb	360-343 B.C.

In Persia, Artaxerxes II succeeded Darius II and ruled for forty-six years (404-358 B.C.) He was succeeded by Artaxerxes III (Ochus), who in 343 B.C. re-conquered Egypt and initiated the short lived 2nd Persian domination. Ochus was assassinated in 338 B.C., and was succeeded by his youngest son Arses, who was himself murdered in 336 B.C. The last Persian king of Egypt was a third Darius, nicknamed Codomannus, who ruled until Egypt fell to Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.[53]

Following Alexander's death in 323 B.C. control over Egypt passed to the family of Ptolemy, one of Alexander's generals. The lengthy Ptolemaic period lasted for three centuries, till the last Ptolemy, Cleopatra, lost her throne to Rome.

[53] This summary is borrowed almost verbatim from Gardiner, op. cit., p. 453.

We noted in the previous section that the history of Egypt from dynasties 26 through 31 is known via Greek and Roman authors, not through the monuments. For the 26th dynasty we are largely dependent on Herodotus, corrected by Ktesias and Thucydides, with some additional help from Diodorus Siculus. For dynasties 27 through 31 the primary sources are Diodorus Siculus and Xenophon. In this later period, however, there is additional help from the papyri.

> "But there is one important Egyptian literary source which deals with the political history of these last independent Egyptian dynasties, the so-called Demotic Chronicle. This papyrus, now number 215 in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, was purchased in Cairo by a soldier serving with Napoleon, and was taken to France in 1801. The text on the verso was first studied by Revillout, who gave it the name Demotic Chronicle, a name by which it is still known.[54]

The Demotic Chronicle was written in the Ptolemaic era, presumably in the 2nd century B.C., a short time after Manetho. But the events that concern its authors occur in the 4th century. Those authors appear to be very familiar with happenings in Egypt during the 28th through 30th dynasties. It seems reasonable to assume that the content of the Chronicle was first written in the 4th century and recopied in the 2nd. The papyrus is a palimpset.

The recto of this papyrus names all the kings from Amyrtaeus to Teos in their correct order. The authors were knowledgeable about their subject matter. Careful examination of details in the text has led scholars to conclude that its history is reliable.[55]

The verso of the Chronicle is most relevant for this revision. It contains a number of distinct texts, two of which are of particular interest. The first is a brief chronicle describing in unflattering tones the lack of moral character of Pharaoh Amasis. Spiegelberg calls it an historical narrative and entitles it "The Narrative of King Amasis and the Sailor". The story depicts the Saite king as a drunken sot. The details are unimportant. It is clearly written by authors antagonistic to Amasis. It brings to mind Herodotus II. 172 where we are told that "at first he (Amasis) was contemned and held in but little regard by the Egyptians, as having been but a common man and of no high family".

The existence of this narrative raises a question: Why would a Saite king who supposedly lived and ruled in the mid-6th century be singled out for ridicule by authors whose preoccupation elsewhere is with happenings in the 4th century? How is it that he is even remembered? Only if the present revision is correct, and Amasis ruled from 449-405 B.C. as the last of the puppet kings of the first Persian domination, is this disdain

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[54] Janet H. Johnson, "The Demotic Chronicle as an Historical Source," Enchoria 4 (1974) p.2

[55] Cf. Janet H. Johnson, op.cit. p 17. The opinion expressed applies to the small percentage of the verso of the Chronicle examined by Johnson.

comprehensible. We also understand why the life and work of Amasis have not been forgotten.

A separate group of related documents on the verso equally concern Amasis. One clearly mentions Amasis 44th year as a significant date for the beginning or ending of some activity. The existing translations claim that Cambyses is also mentioned. Gardiner alludes to this text as the source of our knowledge about "Cambyses withdrawal of grants to the Egyptian temples and about Darius's command that the laws of the country should be recorded in writing"[56] He further claims, on the basis of this section of the Demotic Chronicle, that the laws implemented by Darius were created in an assembly of the wisest soldiers, priests and scribes of Egypt gathered together at the behest of Darius, at which assembly "they were to set forth in writing the complete law of Egypt down to year 44 of Amasis, a task which kept them busy until his (Darius's) own nineteenth year."[57]

It goes without saying that if Darius I is named in the document and if Darius requested any activity referenced to year 44 of Amasis then Amasis must precede Darius I in time and the present revision should stop. How do we respond to these statements by a noted Egyptologist?

If nothing else the comments by Gardiner serve to highlight a problem that will manifest itself repeatedly in the course of this examination of Egyptian history. Statements are made by scholars which, taken at face value, appear to undermine the current reinterpretation of history. Closer scrutiny shows the statements themselves to be at fault. They either misrepresent or misinterpret the data. There is no deliberate attempt to deceive. In most cases, as here, they result from an attempt to interpret a text in the light of an existing but erroneous view of history. Corrupt history begets faulty interpretation. The principle will manifest itself repeatedly.

When we examine the Chronicle text that deals with Amasis' 44th year we find only a questionable reference to Darius (Spiegelberg[58] sees the name; Griffith[59] questions whether it is present) and nothing to indicate whether the name refers to Darius I, Darius II, or Darius III. There is also no certain reference to Cambyses. A dignitary named Kbdj or Kbdje seems to be in the process of emending legislation enacted in the reign of Amasis (prior to his 44th year) or which has been in vogue since the 44th year of Amasis. Kbdj is never called a king. His title is omitted, while Amasis is always Pharaoh Amasis. The text is not well preserved. Lacunae abound. A second and related document in the same group in the Chronicle concerns what adjustments Kbdj should make to the procedures by which temples are furnished with their incomes. In the reign of Amasis it was done so; but now it will be done thus.

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[56] *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 372.
[57] Ibid, p. 365
[58] W. Spiegelberg, *Die Sogenannte Demotische Chronik* (1914) p. 30,31
[59] F. Ll. Griffith, The Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, (1909) vol. iii , p. 26,27.

In the traditional history Cambyses and Darius I succeeded Amasis, with only the brief reign of Psamtik III intruding. At the end of the 5th century, where we have relocated Amasis, we also have Darius and Amasis, but this time the Persian king is Darius II, whose reign overlaps the last two decades of the reign of Amasis. Is there also a Cambyses? The argument in the concluding chapter of this revision is a resounding yes. In the Demotic Chronicle he is called Kbdj, and an argument can be made that this Kbdj is not Cambyses, son of Cyrus, but a contemporary of Amyrtaeus. When we examine the historical role of this native Persian in our chapter eleven, the Demotic Chronicle, far from being a threat to the current revision, will become one its staunchest allies. But the matter must be put on hold till then.

Before leaving the Demotic Chronicle it should be noted that the comments above should in no wise be construed as defensive. The entire problem could have been shrugged off by simply claiming that the Chronicle is in error. Since it is recorded on a palimpset in the 2nd century it could be argued that the Chronicle reflects a time when historical facts related to the Saite dynasty are already in a state of confusion. Griffith himself suggests the possibility of error. He has more problems with the Chronicle than does the current revision, as he struggles to find agreement between its problematic text and the assumed facts of the traditional history. His confusion is evidenced from his comments:

> This papyrus was written centuries after the events narrated took place, and its statements may be very incorrect. It is much to be hoped that the question may be definitely decided as to whether the passage represents an investigation by Darius as to the income of the temple in the days of Amasis, and the items lopped off by Cambyses, or an investigation ordered by Cambyses himself with a view to the reductions named.[60]

Griffith would be surprised to learn that neither of his suggestions is close to the truth.

[60] Ibid. p. 27.

Chapter 3: Osorkons, Sheshonks & Takeloths

Osorkon II & Takeloth II

A Revised 22nd/23rd Dynasty Chronology

According to the traditional history, for two hundred years from c.a. 950-750 B.C., Egypt was ruled, at least in Lower Egypt, by a series of 22nd dynasty kings bearing the names Sheshonk, Osorkon, and Takeloth. According to the Egyptologist K.A. Kitchen there were seven Osorkons, five Sheshonks, and three Takeloths. It is a confusing period.

In the middle of this time frame, during the latter part of the reign of Osorkon II, the 22nd dynasty lost control of Upper Egypt to the rival 23rd dynasty. For the next one hundred years the two dynasties ruled simultaneously in the north and south respectively. The dates for Osorkon II and the usurper Takeloth II have been reviewed recently by D. A. Aston[61], who provides a range of dates for Osorkon II (874-835/30 B.C.) and for Takeloth II (c. 838/33-812/07 B.C.). He identifies Osorkon II with the 22nd dynasty and Takeloth II with the 23rd.[62] Aston's median dates for the two kings and for their immediate successors are incorporated intact into Table 6.[63]

With Osorkon II we are at the upper end of a line of kings stretching continuously down to Amasis at the end of the 26th dynasty. In this time period there are only a few significant questions concerning reign lengths (see the discussion below) and equally few problems related to the placement of minor kings. The sequence of kings outlined below is otherwise generally accepted.

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[61] D.A. Aston, "Takeloth II - A King of the 'Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty'?," JEA 75 (1989) 139-153.

[62] The 23rd dynasty has traditionally been viewed as a single line of kings beginning with Pedubast I, this following Manetho. Only recently has the argument been made that Takeloth II was a Theban pharaoh and that the 23rd dynasty begins with his reign. Klaus Bauer distinguishes five independent branches to this 23rd dynasty, with centers at Thebes, Tanis, Leontopolis, Hermopolis, and Heracleopolis ("The Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt: Notes," JNES 32 (1973) 4-25).

[63] Osorkon II ruled independently for only 25 years. Aston was convinced Osorkon's sole reign ended c.a. 835 B.C. but having lowered the dates for Osorkon's death by some 14 years, was reluctant to leave this lengthy gap in the Egyptian chronology at the upper end. His solution was to leave the date for the beginning of Osorkon's reign unchanged, thus lengthening his reign by these 14 years. There is absolutely no evidence for this extended reign of Osorkon II. It was an unnecessary and unfortunate change on Aston's part, which is corrected in Table 1. The alteration affects only the date of the beginning of Osorkon's reign and therefore has no bearing on this segment of our revision, which is primarily concerned with the dates of Osorkon's successors.

Table 6: Dynasties 22 & 23 Kings: Traditional History

DYNASTY 22	DYNASTY 23
Osorkon II 861-833 B.C.	Takeloth II 836-811 B.C.
Sheshonk III 833-781 B.C.	Pedubast I 826-800 B.C.
Pamay 781-775 B.C.	Iuput I 812-? B.C.
Sheshonk V 775-738 B.C.	Osorkon III 794-766 B.C.
Pedubast II 738-730 B.C.	Takeloth III 771-764 B.C.
Osorkon IV 730-715 B.C.	Rudamon 764-745 B.C.

If our proposed alteration of Egyptian chronology is sound, it follows that the dates for the kings in Table 6 must be reduced. How large a reduction is the only question. It need not be the same 121 years applied to the Saite kings, since reign lengths prior to Taharka and the Saite dynasty are not so well established as within the Saite period. But 121 years cannot be far wrong and therefore that number is subtracted tentatively. The result is shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Dynasties 22 & 23 Kings: Revised History

DYNASTY 22	DYNASTY 23
Osorkon II 740-712 B.C.	Takeloth II 715-690 B.C.
Sheshonq III 712-660 B.C.	Pedubast I 705-679 B.C.
Pamay 660-654 B.C.	Iuput I 691-? B.C.
Sheshonq V 654-617 B.C.	Osorkon III 673-645 B.C.
Pedubast II 617-609 B.C.	Takeloth III 650-643 B.C.
Osorkon IV 609-594 B.C.	Rudamon 643-624 B.C.

We are not quite finished. There are two pharaohs in Table 7 whose dates are hotly contested, namely, Sheshonq III of the 22nd dynasty and Osorkon III of the 23rd. Two widely disparate possibilities exist for the reign lengths of the two kings. Scholars are divided on the issue. Aston follows K.A. Kitchen in assigning 52 years to Sheshonk III and 28 years to Osorkon III. Other Egyptologists credit Sheshonk III with only 39 years and Osorkon III with only 6 years. The lower figures are the highest attested dates on the monuments of these kings and are probably correct. Incorporating these lower reign lengths into Table 7 results in the alternative revised history shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Dynasties 22 & 23 Kings: Alternative Revised History

DYNASTY 22	DYNASTY 23
Osorkon II 740-712 B.C.	Takeloth II 715-690 B.C.
Sheshonq III 712-673 B.C.	Pedubast I 705-679 B.C.
???	Iuput I 691-? B.C.
Pamay 660-654 B.C.	Osorkon III 673-667 B.C.
Sheshonq V 654-617 B.C.	Takeloth III 672-665 B.C.
Pedubast II 617-609 B.C.	Rudamon 665-646 B.C.
Osorkon IV 609-594 B.C.	

The 13-year reduction in the reign-length of Sheshonk III leaves a gap of that duration in the chronology.[64] For the time being we leave the space unfilled.[65]

[64] We cannot simply make the reigns of Sheshonk III and Pemay sequential. A gap of 26 years must be left in the table from the 28th year of Sheshonk III to the 2nd year of Pemay to agree with the data on Serapeum stelae Louvre Nos.18 & 34; translation in BAR IV 771-74; 778-81. Cf. Malinine, Posener, Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Steles du Serapeum de Memphis I* (1968) Nos. 21-5; pls. 8-9.

[65] A name will be supplied in the second book of our series.

The chronology in Table 8 will require no further major adjustments. It agrees within a year with the dates provided by Karl Jansen-Winkeln[66] in a recent study, this of course after this scholar's absolute dates are systematically lowered. We are confident that this is the true historical position of these kings, though that fact remains to be proved. Little time will be spent establishing Osorkon II in the time frame 740-712 B.C. Others have already effectively argued the case for a late 8th century date for this king. Our focus will be on Takeloth II and his successors in the 23rd dynasty. We do begin, however, with Osorkon II. Every argument that links this king to the latter half of the 8th century B.C., rather than the middle years of the 9th century, is an argument in support of the current revision.

Shalmanezer attacks Samaria 722 B.C.

In the 12th year of Ahaz, king of Judah, Hoshea became king of Israel in Samaria and he reigned nine years (731-722 B.C.) Early in his reign Hoshea made a bid for freedom. Withholding tribute from Assyria, he "sent envoys to So, king of Egypt." (2 Kings 17:4) The diplomatic mission failed to gain the needed assistance, and the Assyrian king Shalmanezer V (727-722 B.C.) laid siege to Samaria. Three years later, in the 9th year of Hoshea, Samaria fell, its population was deported to Assyria, and the northern kingdom of Israel effectively ended. The palace of Hoshea, built in the time of Omri and Ahab, was destroyed.

Many monographs have been written speculating on the identity of the pharaoh "So" on whom Hoshea relied in vain. K.A. Kitchen argues for (O)so(rkon) IV, based largely on the traditional chronology that makes this pharaoh a contemporary of Hoshea (see Table 6). If our revision is correct (O)so(rokon) II is a better candidate. There is at least some evidence that Osorkon II had diplomatic links with Samaria. Not so with Osorkon IV.

A Commemorative Vase

From the 1908-1910 Harvard excavations at Samaria, from the palaces of Omri (876-869 B.C.) and Ahab (869-850 B.C.), there surfaced "the remains of a large alabaster vase bearing traces of the cartouches of Osorkon II".[67] The excavators identify the vase as "part of the gifts of an Egyptian embassy to the court of Ahab and Jezebel."[68] Thus interpreted the vase became a lynchpin in the traditional chronology. Since Ahab ruled from 869-850 B.C., and since, on the sole basis of this vase Osorkon II was his

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[66] Karl Jansen-Winkeln, "Historische Probleme Der 3. Zwischenzeit," JEA 81 (1995) 129-149.
[67] Kitchen, TIP 284 (p.324), Cf. G.A. Reisner, L.S. Fischer, D.G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, 1908-10, I, 132,243, 247, 334, fig. 205; II plate 54b, 56g; for inscription cf. H Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, III, 340 n.3.
[68] Reisner, Fischer, Lyon, *Harvard Excavations*, p. 247

contemporary, then Osorkon II must date to the mid 9th century.

But the revisionist historian Immanuel Velikovsky argued in 1979 that the identification with the time of Ahab is incorrect. He pointed out that the jar with Osorkon's inscriptions was found near, but not in, Ahab's palace. And furthermore, it happened that

> beneath the layer of Osorkon's jar were discovered written documents that shattered its significance as chronological evidence: Ostraca, or inscribed potsherds, were found near the palace. They were first thought to date from Ahab's reign, but upon re-examination they were attributed to Jeroboam II's reign. Now, according to the excavators, the foundations of the Ostraca House (containing the inscribed sherds) "must have been destroyed previous to the construction of the Osorkon House" (so called because of the jar found in its ruins). It follows that the potsherds were of an earlier date than the Osorkon jar, or the time of its deposition; and that, if anything, the jar can prove only that Osorkon lived after Jeroboam II, not in the days of Ahab. Nevertheless we read again and again that the jar with the seal impression of Osorkon II proves that Ahab and Osorkon were contemporaries.[69]

Jeroboam II reigned forty-one years in Israel. His dates are 786-746 B.C. The Osorkon jar was found in the excavation layer above Jeroboam's. It must be dated in the final quarter of the 8th century.

Almuñécar Vases

Osorkon II formed alliances not only with Hoshea in Israel, but also with the Phoenicians in the coastal towns of the eastern Mediterranean. He claimed to have ruled over "Upper and Lower Retenu".[70] An inscribed statue of Osorkon II was discovered in Byblos. Unfortunately it lacks a clearly dateable context. But elsewhere several inscribed alabaster jars attest Osorkon's commercial, if not his political associations with the Phoenicians. And these argue strongly for a late 8th century date. They derive from a Phoenician necropolis in southern Spain. Donald Harden, the excavator of Carthage, comments:

> One very important site is the early Phoenician cemetery at Cerro de San Cristobal, Almunecar, the ancient Sexi, some 70 km. East of Malaga, excavated by Pellicer Catalan. This yielded, inter alia, a series of alabaster jars, two with genuine Egyptian cartouches of Osorkon II (870-47) and Takelothis II (847-23) and two others with imitation cartouches of Osorkon II and Sheshonq III (847)... Despite the presence, however, of these apparently ninth-century

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[69] Immanuel Velikovsky, *Ramses II & His Times* (1979) p. 246-7.
[70] TIP 285 n.456

> vessels, the cemetery is not thought to be earlier than the late eighth and early seventh centuries B.C., since two early proto-corinthian kotylai of the first quarter of the seventh century were found in tomb 19.[71]

Excavations at other Phoenician sites in southern Spain confirm the date of colonization of this area. Harden makes no further comment on the Almunecar find, though clearly some explanation is in order. Jean Leclant dates the cemetery in the early part of the seventh century.[72] Pierre Centes, another noted authority, agrees.[73] Then how do they explain the vases? Both scholars suggest that some of the tombs may be slightly earlier than the excavators suggest. Leclant conjectures additionally that some of the vases may have been local imitations while others spent some time in an eastern Phoenician context before being transmitted to Almunecar, where they were eventually entombed with their owners. Centes disagrees with Leclant, arguing that the cartouches cannot be anything other than the manufacture of the pharaohs they depict. But with Leclant he agrees that the ninth century vases had already known a lengthy usage at the time of their entombment. What else could be argued? If the tombs are at earliest mid-eighth century while the vases are at latest mid-ninth century, then the vases must be later imitations or have been preserved in some unknown context for over a century before being entombed with their present owners. How likely is this scenario? Let the reader judge.

Cintas is correct when he argues that the inscriptions are the manufacture of the pharaohs whose cartouche names they bear. Other explanations are strained. But there is no need to postulate a lengthy pre-interment usage. Osorkon II and his near contemporaries Takeloth II and Sheshonk III are occupants of the late 8th and early 7th centuries, the dates assigned to the necropolis by the excavators.

Centuries of Darkness

Many similar finds favouring a lowering of 22nd dynasty dates, including those of Osorkon II, are presented by a group of Cambridge scholars in the recently published *Centuries of Darkness* (1991). These include "a relief chalice fragment at Beuseirah in Edom" dated 200 years earlier than its context and "a scarab of Osorkon I or II found in a tomb at Salamis, Cyprus, the other contents of which were dated by Karagiorghis to around 700 B.C."[74] It is claimed by the excavators in both cases that these are "heirlooms."

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[71] 9. Donald Harden, *The Phoenicians* (1962) reprint ed. 1971, p. 221 n. 62

[72] Jean Leclant, Les relations entre l'Egypte et la Phenicie du voyage d'Ounamon a l'expedition d'Alexandre, in Wm. A Ward, ed., *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations* (1968) p. 13. Cf. also p. 25, n. 34.

[73] Pierre Cintes, *Manuel d'Archeologie Punique vol. 1* (1970) p. 435-37.

[74] Peter James, in collaboration with I.J.Thorpe, Nikos Kokkinos, Robert Morkot and John Frankish, *Centuries of Darkness* (1991) p. 251-2. Cited henceforth as CD.

Inscriptional evidence from Carthage is particularly abundant.

> At Carthage a number of Libyan period scarabs were found in tombs, along with pottery from the earliest days of the city. The scarabs carry the names of Pedubast I (eight tombs), Pimay son of Shoshenq III (one tomb) and Osorkon III (one tomb). Cintas attempted to use these finds to date the tombs to the early 8th century BC, supplying the evidence needed to take the history of Carthage back to its traditional foundation date of 814 BC. Unfortunately for Cintas, the Greek and Phoenician pottery also excavated from the lowest levels shows that they can be no earlier than about 720 BC, which would leave the scarabs, now rarely mentioned, as another collection of ostensible 'heirlooms'. (CD 253)

These inscribed objects, individually problematic for the traditional history, are collectively an embarrassment. And they are but small parts of a broader argument. In hundreds of pages of closely reasoned text the authors of *Centuries of Darkness* apply results from many scientific disciplines, including archaeology, to argue their case that the dark ages which exist in many Near Eastern and Balkan countries, including Greece, are a fiction. They result from a faulty Egyptian chronology to which the histories of these countries are linked. That faulty chronology includes dynasties 18 through 22. Dates for all these dynasties, not just the 22nd, need to be lowered by at least a century. Every detail in this extremely important anthology is indirectly an argument supportive of the present revision.

There is but a single criticism to be levelled at the Cambridge scholars. They ended their reconstruction with the 22nd dynasty at the end of the 8th century. This was a mistake. It created a chronological bottleneck at the terminal point in their revised chronology. According to Peter James, the spokesman for the group, "it is too early to offer a complete revised scheme, with every king slotted neatly into place." The reason for the caution is understandable. By correctly identifying the true position of the 22nd/23rd dynasty complex of pharaohs, the authors had already overlapped the traditional territory of the 25th dynasty. The 22nd dynasty was moved; the 25th dynasty was left in place. In the opinion of the authors: "Whilst there is still some doubt, the date of the Kushite invasion of Egypt by Shabaqo is most likely to fall within the parameters established by Kitchen and Redford, i.e. 716-711 BC." Unable to determine exactly how to fit the 22nd/23rd dynasties in the same space occupied by the 25th dynasty they wisely stopped. "Without giving precise dates for each pharaoh", they had established "broad lines of a new construction"[75].

A chronological firewall had been reached.

> By the time of the 26th Dynasty (664-525 BC) we are well within the era of solidly dated history, where large-scale adjustments can be ruled out by a

[75] *Centuries of Darkness*, p. 254

> wealth of interlocking evidence from Greek, biblical, Assyrian and Babylonian sources, as well as Egyptian. (CD 220)

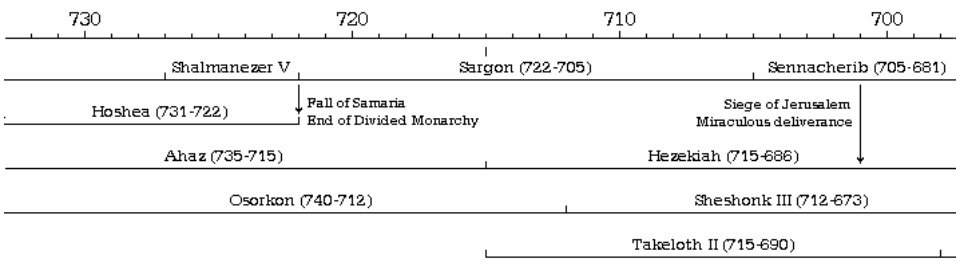
We are advised by the *Centuries of Darkness* authors that "The starting point for a revised chronology must be the later 25th Dynasty, whose last kings can be fixed exactly in time by links with the 26th Dynasty and the Assyrian kings."[76]

Taharka's "certain dates" are not merely the bane of Egyptologists. They are the Achilles heel alike of traditionalists and reformers, a barrier to progress.

It is time for the barrier to fall.

Osorkon II ruled from 740 B.C. through 712 B.C. In the final three years of his life he shared power with Takeloth II who had assumed control over Upper Egypt. Takeloth II, according to our revised dates, ruled from 715-690 B.C. We have already noted the Almunecar vase inscriptions that provide some confirmation of these dates. Is there other evidence that Takeloth II lived and ruled in Egypt at this time?

Figure 12: Timeline – End of the 8th Century (Revised History)



Sennacherib Attacks Jerusalem 701 B.C.

With the demise of the Hoshea's northern kingdom, Judah continued as the sole surviving Jewish state. Ahaz died and was succeeded by his son Hezekiah (715-686 B.C.). In Assyria as well power changed hands - first, from Shalmanezer to Sargon (722-705 B.C.), and then to his son Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.). A quarter century after the envoys of Hoshea sought the assistance of pharaoh So, king Hezekiah challenged the authority of Sennacherib. The Assyrian king reacted, laying siege to Jerusalem. This time Egyptian support was forthcoming. In the midst of the siege "Sennacherib received a report that Tirhakah, the Cushite king of Egypt, was marching out to fight against

[76] *Centuries of Darkness*, p. 220

him". (2 Kings 19:9) The threat was not taken seriously by the Assyrian monarch, who sent messengers to Hezekiah with the word: "Say to Hezekiah, king of Judah: Do not let the god you depend on deceive you when he says, 'Jerusalem will not be handed over to the king of Assyria'". (2 Kings 19:10) Apparently the advancing Egyptian army did not intimidate Sennacherib. The Hebrew Bible omits any mention of the ensuing battle but the annals of Sennacherib record the event. In those annals, which document the 3rd campaign of Sennacherib, in the midst of a description of the assault on Jerusalem, it is noted that Hezekiah

> had become afraid and had called (for help) upon the kings of Egypt (Mus(u)ri) (and) the bowmen, the chariot(-corps) and the cavalry of the king of Ethiopia (Meluhha), an army beyond counting - and they (actually) had come to their assistance. In the plain of Eltekeh (Al-ta-qu-u), their battle lines were drawn up against me and they sharpened their weapons. Upon a trust (-inspiring) oracle (given) by Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and inflicted a defeat upon them. In the melee of the battle, I personally captured alive the Egyptian charioteers with the(ir) princes and (also) the charioteers of the king of Ethiopia.[77]

The siege of Jerusalem resumed. There is no further mention of Egypt by the Jewish historians. Instead we are informed regarding some intervening "miraculous" deliverance of Hezekiah's city. It came at night. How long after the battle of Eltekeh we can only guess.

> That night the angel of Yahweh went out and put to death a hundred and eighty-five thousand men in the Assyrian camp. When the people got up the next morning - there were all the dead bodies. So Sennacherib king of Assyria broke camp and withdrew. He returned to Nineveh and remained there. (1 Kings 19:35,36)

The date of the siege of Jerusalem, of the advance of Egyptian forces under king Tirhakah, and of the "miraculous" deliverance of Jerusalem, was 701 B.C.

Who was king Tirhakah, the king of Cush who, along with other Egyptian kings, provided military assistance to Hezekiah? Unlike the question regarding the identity of king So, historians were able to answer this one unequivocally. A perfect candidate was at hand. Or nearly so.

In the traditional history the date 701 B.C. is a decade in advance of the "certain" dates of Taharka (690-664 B.C.), the Ethiopian (Cushite) king of Egypt who opposed Assurbanipal and whose death immediately preceded the Saite dynasty. In spite of the lack of correspondence in date the assumption is made, and never questioned, that the Jewish historians are referring to this 25th dynasty king. They have no option. With the

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[77] A. Leo Oppenheim, ANET, p. 288 Oppenheim is responsible for the translations of all "Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts" in ANET (pp. 265-317)

dynasties displaced no other candidate is on the scene.

But the chronological difficulty with this identification has not gone unnoticed. The Tirhakah who moved to assist Hezekiah in 701 B.C. was called "king of Cush". Taharka did not become king until 690 B.C.

Two distinct resolutions of the problem emerged. Most historians, following the lead of Egyptologists, assumed that *prince* Taharka was acting in 701 B.C. as a commander of the armies of his brother Shabataka. The reference to him as "king" was either anachronistic or, as Kitchen explains it, proleptic.[78]

An alternative solution, proposed and defended by biblical scholars, assumed that the battle referred to actually occurred later in the careers of Hezekiah and Sennacherib, when Taharka was in fact the king. The historian John Bright takes a dozen pages of his *History of Israel* (2nd) to analyze what he terms this "difficult problem." Bright sides with those who argue for two campaigns, one in 701 B.C. which ended in the "miraculous" slaughter of the Assyrian army, and one in 686 B.C. in which Tirhakah participates.[79]

The arguments and counter arguments serve only to emphasis the difficulty inherent in the proposed identification.

The debate about Tirhakah king of Cush is unnecessary. The similarity of names notwithstanding, Taharka was neither prince nor king of Cush in 701 B.C. He was born in the early 6th century B.C. He could not have come to the assistance of Hezekiah in the last year of the 8th century B.C.

There is a better candidate on hand in the restored chronology. Takeloth II was a contemporary of Sennacherib and Hezekiah. He ruled over Upper Egypt. He is arguably a king of Cush.[80] And his name is right.

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[78] TIP 129

[79] John Bright, A History of Israel 2nd (1972) "Excursus I: The Problem of Sennacherib's Campaign in Palestine", p. 296-308.

[80] Although, strictly speaking, Cush was a designation for lands south of the 1st cataract, in many instances in both Assyrian and biblical texts (as here), the term appears to be synonymous with upper Egypt, perhaps because the 23rd dynasty pharaohs were Cushite in origin, perhaps because northern Cush and Pathros (Upper Egypt) were part of one administrative district. Where Cush is used synonymously with Upper Egypt or Pathros, the term Melukkha is used to designate the Napatan region, thus distinguishing the two geographical areas. But even this distinction is not consistently followed. Cf. comments in notes 84, 85 and 110.

Takeloth = Takeroth = Tarkoth

The 22nd dynasty kings were not native Egyptians. Their personal names Osorkon, Takeloth, and Sheshonk are of unknown provenance and meaning.[81] They are simply spelled out using consonantal hieroglyphs. Vowel sounds are not represented. Thus the personal name of Takeloth is written t-k-l-t, or t-k-r-t. The variant third consonant is the Egyptian "mouth" hieroglyph. It has the value of an "r" in Egyptian, but serves to represent an "l" where this sound occurs in foreign names (Egyptian has no "l"). Without corroborative evidence from foreign texts, there is no rationale for choosing between the spellings Takeloth and Takeroth. Early Egyptologists use both.

So Takeloth becomes Takeroth merely by giving the hieroglyph its usual value. But even the order of the consonants is not certain. While Egyptian texts are usually - though not always - read in a fixed order following a traditional sequence pattern, not so foreign names. When Assurbanipal entered Egypt two decades after Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah he encountered a king Limintu. Egyptologists have no qualms about equating Limintu with a minor king Nimlot (n-m-l-t) though this implies a complete inversion of the order in which the hieroglyphs are typically read. Other instances can be cited of similar inversions especially at the time of the 22nd/23rd dynasties. The only certain way of knowing whether the consonants are to represent the sequence t-k-r-t or t-r-k-t or even some third variant is to fortuitously encounter a reference to the Egyptian king in a foreign language text where the reading is certain. Hebrew is one such language. Assyrian is another. We assume therefore that the name read as tkrt may have been vocalized as trkt by the Egyptians.[82]

Finally, we are reminded that foreigners often abbreviated the names of pharaohs. If it can be argued that pharaoh So is (O)so(rokon), then we should not be surprised if the "t" ending in t-r-k-t was not sounded. It may never have been vocalized within Egypt.[83]

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[81] Most Egyptologists believe the names are Libyan.

[82] We expect no quarrel from Egyptologists on this point. The equation Tirhakah = Taharka already assumes the phenomenon. The Hebrew text has the consonants trhkh while the name of the 25th dynasty king Taharka is written thrk. There is an assumed inversion in the order of the second and third consonants that is rarely discussed. Kitchen refers to the anomaly as "metathesis", and appears to ascribe this metathesis to the Massoretes, the 16th century editors of the Hebrew consonantal text. (TIP 421 n.136) There is no point arguing, since the problem is moot. Tirhakah is not Taharka. There remains the possibility, however, that the shortened form of the Ethiopian name was Teker and that metathesis has occurred on the part of the Jewish and Assyrian historians. Metathesis is common in Semitic languages (cf. S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (1969) 63 (sect. 7))

[83] Cf. the discussion by M.F. Laming Macadam, The Temples of Kawa I (1949) p. 53, who argues that in Meroitic a locative postposition -te occurs on the name of the Nubian capital Napate which is absent in the Egyptian vocalization: " ... the Greek form ta Napata restores the final syllable, which must have been absent form the Egyptian form of the word." It may be that the final "t" in tkrt was never sounded in Egypt, a phenomenon that may have been duplicated in the

Combining all of the arguments noted above we conclude that the name traditionally written Takeloth was actually T(e)r(e)k or T(e)r(e)ka, this with hypothetical vowels included. The Hebrew consonants *thrkh* support this conjecture. Tirhakah is but one of many possible renderings of the Hebrew name. The Hebrew consonantal text preserves his name as t-r-h-k-h. Vowels and inflection points were added by Jewish linguists (Massoretes) in the 16th century of the present era, roughly two thousand years after the event. Theirs was only a guess as to the original pronunciation. If we take the two h's as vowel indicators then the Hebrew text could be repointed as T(e)r(eh)k(ah). In this case both the Hebrew and Egyptian vocalizations are identical.

Based on these considerations we argue that Tirhakah, king of Cush is none other than Takeloth II. The name is right. The time is right. Takeloth II was a Theban pharaoh, and for reasons discussed earlier (see note 80) the biblical author calls him a king of Cush.[84] When Sennacherib describes the battle at Eltekeh he refers to his opponents in the plural. He fought a combination of Egyptian kings and a king of Melukkha. It is possible that the Assyrian annalist is here preserving the same distinction we make between Lower and Upper Egypt, the former ruled by "kings of Egypt", which must include Sheshonk III, the latter by Takeloth II, king of Cush (or Melukkha).[85] Concerning Takeloth II little is known, save that he was the founder of a rival dynasty and therefore arguably ambitious and militarily capable. His burial in a second-hand sarcophagus in a side chamber of the tomb of Osorkon II in Tanis, excavated by Montet in 1939, reflects the turbulent character of the times in which he lived.

Concerning these turbulent times more can be said.

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pronunciation of other foreign names.

[84]See also notes 85 and 110.

[85] It is also possible, perhaps even probable, that the terms "Cush" and "Melukha" should be distinguished in this instance. If so then the king of Melukha referred to by Sennacherib is not Takeloth II, the king of Cush (= the region of Upper Egypt), who must be included among the "kings of Egypt". But if so, the king of Melukkha is clearly an ally of Takeloth II, sending skilled warriors to assist in the battle against Sennacherib. Later we introduce the possibility that the king of Melukha at this time in history is named Shabataka, not to be confused with the 25th dynasty king of like name who ruled a century later. This Shabataka, king of Melukkha, may or may not have been related to Takeloth II by marriage. In one argument we suggest that he was married to the sister of Takeloth II, and that his son by this marriage, named Rudamon, succeeded Takeloth II on the Egyptian throne (see below).

Shifting Sun & Suffocating Wind

In 701 B.C. Takeloth II advanced on Jerusalem intending to assist Hezekiah, king of Judah, in his rebellion against Assyria. He was driven back, losing part of his army. Instead, the deliverance of the city is credited by the Jewish historians to an unspecified calamity, the effect of which was the overnight extermination of much of the Assyrian army. What exactly happened, however, is a mystery. The Jewish historian says only "that night the angel of the Lord went out and put to death a hundred and eighty-five thousand men in the Assyrian camp. When the people got up the next morning - there were all the dead bodies!" (2 Kings 19:35) As a result Sennacherib, who must have been quartered separately from his troops, withdrew and returned to Nineveh.

In his controversial first book, *Worlds in Collision* (1950), Immanuel Velikovsky attributes the massive loss of life to asphyxiation resulting from hot gaseous clouds generated by volcanic upheavals triggered by a cosmic near collision of the planets earth and Mars. He alludes to predictions made by the prophet Isaiah that Yahweh would "send a blast upon" Sennacherib and cause him to return to his own land, and he cites Talmudic and Midrashic sources which claim that

> a blast fell from the sky on the camp of Sennacherib. It was not a flame, but a consuming blast: "Their souls were burnt, though their garments remained intact." The phenomenon was accompanied by a terrific noise. (WC 231)

Velikovsky mistakenly ascribed to the two-invasion theory of Sennacherib - which we have previously discounted - and he dates the cosmic event to the hypothetical second invasion of 687 B.C. He was wrong. Whatever the cause of the volcanism that generated the noxious gases – assuming that was indeed the cause of the extensive loss of life – the date is certain. It took place in 701 B.C. But Velikovsky correctly connected the event with an unusual solar phenomenon suggested by a story told in Isaiah 38:6-8 and 2 Kings 20:8-11.

The story begins with Hezekiah ill and at the point of death, pleading for divine healing. Isaiah, the current prophetic spokesman, is sent to Hezekiah with promise of a lengthy remission of his illness:

> Go back, and tell Hezekiah, the leader of my people, 'This is what the Lord, god of your father David, says: I have heard your prayer and seen your tears; I will heal you. On the third day from now you will go up to the temple of the Lord. I will add fifteen years to your life. And I will deliver you and this city from the hand of the king of Assyria. I will defend this city for my sake and for the sake of my servant David. (2 Kings 20:5,6)

Hezekiah anxiously sought visible assurance to confirm the prophet's message. He asked Isaiah,

> What will be the sign that the Lord will heal me and that I will go up to the temple of the Lord on the third day from now?" Isaiah answered, "This is the Lord's sign to you that the Lord will do what he has promised: Shall the shadow go forward ten steps, or shall it go back ten steps?" "It is a simple matter for the shadow to go forward ten steps," said Hezekiah. "Rather, have it go back ten steps." Then the prophet Isaiah called upon the Lord, and the Lord made the shadow go back the ten steps it had gone down on the stairway of Ahaz. (2 Kings 20:8-11)

The Jewish annalists who recorded this historical vignette apparently considered the sudden shift in the position of the shadow to be an act of God, something completely unnatural and unexplained. At minimum the language of the text suggests that the apparent position of the sun in the sky had changed. According to the story, this motion reversed an apparent movement of the sun in the opposite direction that had taken place sometime during the reign of Ahaz, at least 14 years earlier. We are not told how long it took for the sun to reach its altered position. Nor is any explanation of the cause provided. Which leads us to inquire: what happened?

For Velikovsky the answer was cosmic in nature. Already he had discovered an abundance of evidence from literary sources around the world that at this time in history the position of the sun in the sky was mysteriously altered. He also found numerous references to a near collision between the planets earth and Mars, which at the time was following a different orbital path than it does today. The combined discoveries led to the conclusion that the enormous gravitational attraction between the two planets wrenched the earth out of orbit, realigned its axis of rotation, and buckled the surface of the earth, generating a variety of catastrophic events. The changed position of the sun in Hezekiah's sky was one result. The clouds of noxious gas that selectively fell on the Assyrian army was yet another.

There are, of course, other possible explanations that maintain a connection between those same two events. The change in the position of the sun could just as easily result from a buckling of the earth that supported the stairwell, changing its angle of orientation to the sun and causing the shadow to move. And the movement of the earth that shifted the shadow might have been caused by the same volcanic event that produced the suffocating gases that smothered the Assyrian army.

We simply do not know what happened. But the coincidence in time of the altered solar alignment suggested by the moving shadow, and the suffocating wind from heaven that fell suddenly on Sennacherib's army, do suggest that the two events are somehow related.

The solar phenomenon occurred 15 years before Hezekiah's death in 686 B.C. It must have taken place in 701 B.C., perhaps in the days shortly before or after Sennacherib laid siege to Jerusalem. The reference in the quoted passage (2 Kings 20:6) to an Assyrian threat to the city can only refer to that time. Additional confirmation is available from rabbinical sources that confirm "that the disturbance in the movement of the sun happened on the evening of the destruction of Sennacherib's army by a devouring blast."[86]

The year 701 B.C. is the fifteenth year of Takeloth II. If our revision is correct, and if the wayward sun in the day and winds of noxious gases during the night are historical realities, then unusual cosmic phenomenon cannot have escaped the notice of Takeloth's army as it retreated from its defeat by Sennacherib.

Chronicle of Prince Osorkon

Around his 10th year Takeloth II installed his eldest son Osorkon as High Priest of Amon in Thebes. This Osorkon was "an energetic, probably impatient, perhaps precocious, young man in his 20s" and as high priest he became "general of the whole land, army-leader, and Governor of the South".[87] Osorkon, the priest and army commander, would one day become king Osorkon III, but his life as high priest was of sufficient interest to warrant recording its details in a prominent position on the inside wall of the court of the temple of Amon in Thebes.

This so-called Chronicle of the crown prince Osorkon is the source of considerable historical information related to the first dozen years following his installation. During his first few years as high priest Osorkon regulated the affairs of Egypt for his father Takeloth II from a base in the central Egyptian town of El-Hibeh. From there he promoted works of restoration, performed ritual duties at the thrice-yearly festivals in Thebes, and successfully suppressed the growing political unrest in the country. Then, suddenly, in year 15 of Takeloth II (701 B.C. in our revision) "without any omens or warning signals of disaster, Egypt erupted into civil war - 'a (great) convulsion broke out in this land ... the children of rebellion, they stirred up strife in (both) South and North'. For his part, Osorkon 'did not weary of fighting in their midst like Horus following his father'. The Egyptian kingdom was shaken to its foundation - 'years passed by, when one could not repel the depredations of one's fellow'."[88] The conflict continued for close to 10 years.

What happened in 701 B.C. to trigger this widespread political upheaval? Breasted's translation of the relevant section of the Chronicle provides the context from which we

[86] WIC 233
[87] TIP 291
[88] TIP 293

can glean the answer:

> Now, afterward, in the year 15, fourth month of the third season, day 25, under the majesty of his August father, the divine ruler of Thebes, **before heaven devoured the moon**, [great] wrath arose in this land like - - the [hated] and the rebels. They set warfare in the South and North --- not ceasing to fight against those who were therein and those who followed his father; while years passed [in] hostility (hsj-') (each) one seizing upon his neighbour, [not] remembering his [son] to [protect] him who came forth from him. (BAR IV 764) (emphasis added)

A cosmic phenomenon preceded the decade of chaos in Egypt. But we would miss that point if we depended on Breasted's translation. He, and many others following him, interpret the introductory portion of the quoted passage as a reference to an imminent eclipse of the moon or the immediate arrival of a new moon, an event that serves only to date the beginning of this period of political disruption in Egypt.[89] But even a cursory reading of the text tells us this cannot be true. The lunar activity is clearly connected with the ensuing chaos, though not necessarily as cause and effect. And it does not refer to a lunar eclipse.

Another early Egyptologist, C.W. Goodwin, provides a less interpretive translation:

> In the 15th year, the 25th of Mesori, in the reign of father Horus the noble, divine regent of Thebes, **the heaven not devouring the moon**, great calamity (*nšn ''*) happened in the land.... Likewise the children of rebellion ...[90] (emphasis added)

Goodwin points out what many others since have echoed, that the text says expressly: "heaven *did not* devour the moon." He expressed doubts that this phrase could be describing an eclipse. And, he adds, "It is difficult to understand why the non-occurrence of an eclipse of the moon should be recorded. Can it be that an eclipse had been predicted but did not happen as expected, or are the words used to denote a partial eclipse, one by which the moon was not wholly swallowed, but which nevertheless was followed by some heavy calamity to the country?" There he leaves the matter. He is

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[89] To be fair, Breasted is not convinced that the phenomenon referred to is an eclipse. Elsewhere he states that "in the year 15 there occurred a remarkable prodigy of uncertain nature, but in some way connected with the moon." (BAR IV 757) In a footnote to his translation he equivocates: "This is the famous passage supposed by Brugsch to record an eclipse of the moon. This seems to me possible only on the basis of the rendering I have adopted, according to which the meaning may be: "just before new moon;" or possibly: "just before an eclipse of the moon." (BAR IV 764 n. d)

[90] C.W. Goodwin, "On an inscription of Takelut II," ZAS 6 (1868) p. 25-29. Goodwin does not provide a continuous translation. The passage quoted is pieced together from individual snippets of translation.

clearly perplexed. Of only one thing is he convinced: "If an eclipse be not the phenomenon intended here, it seems clear at least that some sort of occurrence connected with the moon is mentioned, and that certain calamities are represented as consequent there-upon." [91]

There was no eclipse. There was no failed eclipse. The expressive language of the text suggests that this was the time of the astronomical new moon or dark moon. To the ancients a waning moon appeared night by night as if being consumed or devoured. The night of the "new moon[92] was the night the heaven finally devoured the moon. The moon disappeared from view. On the 25th of Mesori, 701 B.C. such a new moon, or rather no moon, was anticipated, but apparently the moon appeared. If not this, then some other unusual manifestation of the moon, somehow connected with altered atmospheric conditions, is being referenced. Unfortunately the Egyptian text is sufficiently ambiguous to preclude further detailed analysis. We leave the matter to others to investigate. What we can determine is that the anomalous behaviour of the sun in Judah and bizarre appearance of the moon in Egypt appear to have taken place at precisely the same time in history. And that is one reason we have belaboured the point. In 701 B.C. the sun changed position in the sky over Judah; in the 15th year of Takeloth II "the sky did not devour the moon" over Egypt. If the two events are related they provide convincing evidence of the accuracy of our revised chronology. And for that reason we point out one further correspondence between the anomalous behaviour of sun and moon in these locations.

In Judah the altered solar appearance is connected with a catastrophic atmospheric event, resulting in the asphyxiation of Sennacherib's army. Any reasonable explanation for the wayward sun seems to confirm that it was accompanied by (or the result of) some cataclysmic upheaval on the earth's surface. We have also mentioned the fact that in Osorkon's Chronicle the visual lunar anomaly was followed by political chaos throughout Egypt, chaos that lasted for almost thirty years. The Chronicle of prince Osorkon refers to it as the "disruption"(*nšn*). Were there also manifest in Egypt symptoms of some natural disaster. Was the anomalous moon followed by (or the result of) a cataclysm in nature, as it was in Judah? The answer is a resounding yes.

The translations habitually downplay the physical aspects of the chaos that followed the night of Osorkon's "new moon". Instead they interpret the whole of Osorkon's text as

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[91] All quoted material in this paragraph originates from Goodwin on p. 27.

[92] The phrase "new moon" is used in two senses in modern literature. On the one hand it is used to refer to the first appearance of the waxing crescent moon immediately after sunset at the beginning of each lunar month. As such it becomes the subject of an intensive visual search for peoples around the world whose religious or social calendars are based on the cycles of the moon, thus warranting the designation "calendrical new moon". The term "new moon" is also used, as in the present circumstance, for the situation technically referred to as the "astronomical new moon", when the moon passes between the earth and the sun (conjunction), and is therefore not visible from earth.

descriptive of social and political disruption within Egypt. But Goodwin rightly points out that the calamities consequent on the lunar phenomenon are both physical and social. There is a clear ordering in the text. First the sky did not swallow the moon; then great (physical) upheaval (*nšn ‘’*); then great social upheaval (*nšn ‘’*).

The word *nšn* has connotations of “darkness” and “heat”. It implies not only social disruption but also widespread physical damage. We will encounter the phrase again in chapter 5 where it is used by one observer to describe Egypt in the aftermath of Nebuchadrezzar’s invasion. But Goodwin is troubled by the suggestion that a lunar phenomenon could be the cause of physical destruction on earth. Unable to connect a lunar event with widespread physical damage he points out that *nšn* is associated with heat, and that the anomalous moon was perhaps followed by extreme drought, the events being somehow related. We understand his dilemma. At least he is attempting to interpret the text without resorting to emendation. He rests his case and continues: “Besides this calamity of a great drought or whatever else it may have been, the text next refers to something of another nature, namely a rebellion."[93] The chronicle appears to liken the three events. The social chaos is likened to the physical chaos that has occurred both in the land and in the sky.

We rest our case. The two cosmic phenomena were introduced for two reasons, namely, 1) to provide the context in which to introduce related historical matters germane to our discussion, and 2) to synchronize the histories of Assyria, Judah and Egypt, further validating our revised chronology. Both objectives have been met without our having to explain precisely the nature or causes of the respective incidents. The cosmic phenomena, interesting in their own right, are otherwise irrelevant to the overall argument of this book. Let the critic supply his own rationale for the events described.

At minimum Hezekiah’s sun and Osorkon’s moon provide a link between the time of Sennacherib, Hezekiah, and Takeloth II. And the physical chaos in Egypt helps us to understand the resulting political disruption that allowed the Assyrian armies of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal to invade and conquer the land, for within three decades of the day when “the sky did not devour the moon”, Egypt was ruled by the Assyrians.

[93] Goodwin, op.cit. p. 27

Assyrian Invasions

Esarhaddon's Campaigns

Immediately following the day when the sun veered off course and a moon appeared in the sky where none was expected, Sennacherib returned to Assyria where his reign lasted to 681 B.C. He was brutally murdered by one of his sons. His successor was another son named Esarhaddon.

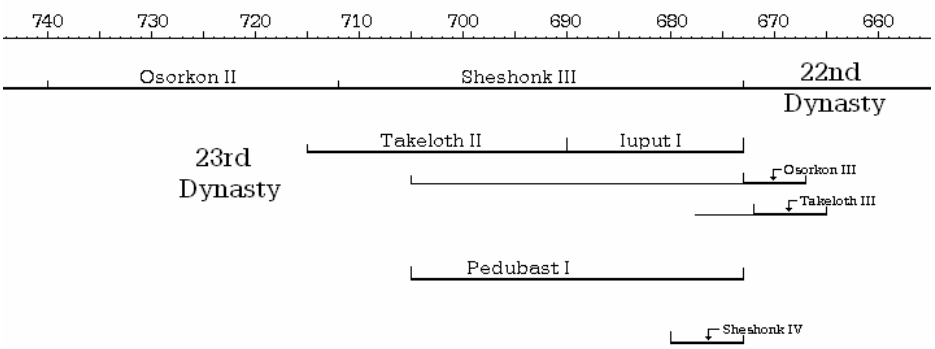
Meanwhile in Egypt Takeloth II endured a decade of the civil war that accompanied the disruption, then died. His successor Iuput I, Sheshonk III (who succeeded Osorkon II), rivals Pedubast I, Sheshonk IV, and others, contested for control of Egypt, while the high priests Prince Osorkon (Osorkon B) and Harsiese (Harsiese B) both claimed religious authority in Thebes. The details are unimportant. Egypt was weakened by this civil strife, which lasted for several decades. The land perhaps still suffered the effects of the physical damage associated with the *nšn*. Assyria decided the time was right to enlarge its kingdom.

In his seventh year Esarhaddon invaded Egypt. He miscalculated Egypt's strength. A later Babylonian Chronicle records the outcome in a note remarkable for its brevity: "Seventh year: In the month of Addarum the 5th day, the army of Assyria was defeated in a bloody battle in Egypt."[94] The seventh year of Esarhaddon was 674 B.C.

For convenience we reproduce below a time line of the Jansen-Winkeln chronology of dynasties 22 and 23 with dates systematically reduced 121 years, augmented slightly using Aston's data (again with dates reduced). This is essentially the identical chronology presented earlier in table 8. It is of interest to note the centrality of the years 674 and 673 B.C. The year 673 B.C. was the last attested year of Sheshonk III. He was perhaps injured in the "bloody battle" with Esarhaddon and died soon after. It was the same year that prince Osorkon, high priest of Amon, declared his kingship. It is possible that his new status resulted from the Egyptian victory. "Commander of the army" was one of his titles and he probably participated in the battle. It is also likely that the Assyrian threat was responsible for his elevating his son Takeloth III to share the throne in 672 B.C. Twenty-nine years as high priest had taken its toll. He was not a young man, and he was correct in assessing his need for help. Esarhaddon had retreated only to entrench. Three years later he was back.

[94] Oppenheim, ANET 302

Figure 13: Kings of Egypt prior to Assyrian Rule



Revised History 740-660 B.C.

In his tenth year, Esarhaddon left Assyria and advanced toward Egypt. He writes:

> "I departed from my city Ashur. I crossed the Tigris and the Euphrates at (the time of their flood); I advanced over the difficult territory (of my route) (as quick-footed) as a wild-ox. In the course of my campaign I threw up earthwork (for a siege) against Ba'lu, king of Tyre who had put his trust upon his friend Tirhakah (Tarqu), king of Nubia (Kusu), and (therefore) had thrown off the yoke of Ashur, my lord..." (ANET 292)

Egypt's victory in 674 B.C. had prompted Tyre to reject Assyrian suzerainty. This was a mistake. Tyre fell and Esarhaddon moved on to do battle with Egypt for the second time. This time he was successful. The year was 671 B.C.

Esarhaddon was justly proud of his conquest of Egypt. He publicized his victory prominently. The double conquest of Tyre and Egypt was commemorated on a large stela erected near Senjirli in Syria. There he stands, larger than life, holding captive as on a leash, kneeling royal figures, one clearly representing Ba'alu of Tyre, the other mistakenly identified from antiquity as Tarqu of Egypt. It was instead Tarqu's son. The text tells the story of the conquest:

> From the town of Ishhupri as far as Memphis, his royal residence, a distance of 15 days (march), I fought daily, without interruption, very bloody battles against Tirhakah (Tarqu), king of Egypt and Ethiopia, the one accursed by all the great gods. Five times I hit him with the point of (my) arrows (inflicting) wounds (from which he should) not recover, and (then) I led siege to Memphis, his royal residence, and conquered it in half a day by means of mines, breaches

> and assault ladders; I destroyed (it), tore down (its walls) and burnt it down. His "queen," the women of his palace, Ushanahuru, his "heir apparent," his other children, his possessions, horses, large and small cattle beyond counting, I carried away as booty to Assyria. All Ethiopians I deported from Egypt - leaving not even one to do homage (to me). Everywhere in Egypt, I appointed new (local) kings, governors, officers (šaknu), harbor overseers, officials and administrative personnel. I installed regular sacrificial dues for Ashur and the (other) great gods, my lords, for all times. I imposed upon them tribute due to me (as their) overlord, (to be paid) annually without ceasing. I had (also) made (this) stela (bearing) my name-inscription and had written thereupon the praise of the valor of my lord Ashur, my own mighty deeds ... (ANET 293)

From the Dog River in Syria comes a second stela.[95] Again Esarhaddon boasts of defeating Tarqu and capturing Ushanahuru, "the heir to his throne". Tarqu and Ushanahuru are both prominent Egyptians. Fortunately we can identify both individuals.

Ushanahuru

On the assumption that Tarqu was Taharka of the 25th dynasty, scholars searched in vain for inscriptional records of his son and heir Ushanahuru, taken captive by Esarhaddon. None were found. Not a single document naming this prince is known. Neither has his tomb been found. The Egyptian name represented by the Assyrian vocalization presents a problem. It can only be guessed at. "His name in Egyptian may have been Esanhuret."[96]

Documentation cannot be found for Ushanahuru among 25th dynasty monuments because he was not a 25th dynasty prince. If our revised history is correct he belongs to the 22nd or 23rd dynasties. According to K.A. Kitchen, among the attested royalty of the 22nd dynasty "the one doubtful name of any moment is the possible Was-neter-re Shoshenq VI. His very existence remains open to question."[97] He "is so far attested solely by a bronze pendant bearing the cartouches: Was-neter-re Setep-(en)-re, Shosh(enq Mery)-Amun, god, (Ruler) of Thebes."[98] Kitchen refers to him as a king because of his cartouche names, but the cartouches indicate only his royal status. The Egyptologist Flinders Petrie produces a photo of the pendant, waffles on whether its owner is a king or a prince, and adds an intriguing reference to armour. He produces a photo of the pendant beside which is written the name "Uas.Neter.Ra Sotep.en.Ra

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[95] ANET 293

[96] M.F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa vol. 1* (1949) p. 124.

[97] TIP 109 Kitchen is only guessing when he suggests this prince belonged to the 22nd rather than the 23rd dynasty.

[98] TIP 67

Shesh(enq) Amen.uas.neter.an (?) of Busiris". Below the name he adds the comment:

> A double cartouche pendant of bronze bears these names and probably of the same king is the piece of bronze scale armour, with scales inscribed Ra.Neter Amen.Mery Sheshenq… As this name cannot be that of any Sheshenq from I to IV, it is probable that the ruler who made these objects was this prince of Busiris. We cannot distinguish which Busiris this is. Possibly to the same prince may belong the base of a statuette from Bubastis. (HE III 271-272)

Uas.Neter.Ra and Usanahuru are Egyptian and Assyrian vocalizations of the same name.

The fact that so few inscriptions of this obscure prince have been found is not surprising. He was taken captive as a young man. The fact that no tomb of his has been found is understandable. He likely died in captivity in Assyria. But what of his father Tarqu? Since Ushanahuru was taken captive in 671 B.C. we search for Tarqu among the list of Egyptian pharaohs at that date in Table 8 and figure 13. Tarqu is immediately visible. Historians know him otherwise as Takeloth III.

Tarqu = Takeloth III

There is no need to repeat the linguistic argument regarding the name. If Takeloth was actually Terek as we have previously argued, there is no surprise that the Assyrians referred to him as Tarqu, supplying the Assyrian nominative ending. The "k" and "q" sounds are virtually identical and the "sloping hill" hieroglyph transcribed by a "k" in Takeloth's name is as often transcribed with a "q". The name is certainly right, but so also is the time.

The reader will immediately see the significance of the dates of Takeloth III as they appear in the table 8 and figure 13. These dates, we repeat, follow directly from the studies of Aston and Jansen-Winkeln after consistently reducing their absolute dates by around 121 years. We have not stretched a chronology to suit our purposes. It is the hand we were dealt. The interpretation follows from the chronology. And we are therefore pleased, but not surprised, to see Takeloth III on the throne of Egypt during the years 672-665 B.C. If it were otherwise we would have to abandon our research. For in 671 B.C., according to the Senjirli and Dog River inscriptions Esarhaddon of Assyria invaded Egypt and fought with Tarqu, king of Egypt and Cush; and in 667 B.C. as we will soon see, Ashurbanipal fought this same Tarqu and drove him from Egypt, and around 665 B.C. Tarqu died. If coincidence can substantiate chronology, as was arguably the case in the errant placement of the Saite dynasty, then we should be convinced that Tarqu and Takeloth III are one and the same king.

There are few monuments clearly naming Takeloth III. A single relief dedicated to a high priest identified as "the King's Son Takeloth whose mother was Tentsai" is credited to him. "The Nile-level text No. 4, dated in Year 6 of a king (no prenomen) 'Takeloth Meryamun, Si-Ese, whose mother is Tentsai" is also his. It is less certain but still likely that he is "the Crown Prince and Eldest Son, Takeloth, son of the Lord of the Two Lands ... Osorkon (III)."[99] We know little else about this king from Egyptian monuments. Aston and Taylor have recently argued that Takeloth III died prematurely![100]

There does exist a single reference to Takeloth III outside of Egypt and it is instructive.

> At Assur an alabaster vase was found with an inscription of a Libyan prince called Takeloth, whose titles suggest that he was the son either of Shoshenq III (825-773 BC) or of Osorkon III (787-759 BC). But the vase also bore a secondary inscription of the Assyrian King Esarhaddon (681-669 BC), stating that it was looted from the palace of the King of Sidon, a city which he sacked in 677 BC. (CD 252)

Jean Leclant is even more specific concerning this vase. According to him the inscription refers to the " 'prophet of Arsaphes mistress of the two lands, governor of the fortress of Pisekhemkheperre, the royal son of Ramses, general, commander in chief, Takelot, son of Tentsai', that is to say the future Takelot II."[101] This is the only inscriptional evidence confirming that Takeloth III was a military leader. His activity as commander in chief of the army must precede his becoming king in 672 B.C., which agrees with the 677 B.C. date when Esarhaddon acquired the vase as a trophy of war. It was probably a gift from prince Takeloth to the king of Sidon and confirms the fact that Takeloth was diplomatically active on behalf of Osorkon III prior to the 674 B.C. invasion of Esarhaddon.

It is now clear why Esarhaddon took a special interest in this vase. It belonged to Tarqu, the meddlesome Egyptian king who defeated him in battle in 674 B.C. and over whom he was finally victorious in 671 B.C. On the assumption that Takeloth III was an 8th century king (770-763 B.C.) it is difficult to understand either how the vase was preserved intact for almost a century or why Esarhaddon would derive any satisfaction from inscribing a trophy which bears the name of an obscure Egyptian prince.

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[99] TIP 73

[100] D.A. Aston and J.H. Taylor, "The Family of Takeloth III and the 'Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty'," in A. Leahy ed. *Libya and Egypt c. 1300 - 750 B.C.* (1989) 145-6.

[101] Jean Leclant, “Les relations entre l'Egypte et la Phenicie du voyage d'Ounamon a l'expedition d'Alexandre, in Wm. A Ward, ed., *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations* (1968) p. 13. Cf. also p. 25, n. 35.

Ashurbanipal's Campaigns

Esarhaddon conquered Egypt in 671 B.C. and left it under the administration of "(local) kings, governors, officers (šaknu), harbor overseers, officials and administrative personnel." He himself never returned. In 668 B.C. he died en route to Egypt and the crown passed peacefully to his son Ashurbanipal (668-627 B.C.). Takeloth III seized the opportunity to reassert his influence in Egypt. Ashurbanipal acted quickly.

> In my first campaign I marched against Egypt (Magan) and Ethiopia (Meluhha). Tirhakah (Tarqu), king of Egypt (Musur) and Nubia (Kusu), whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my own father, had defeated and in whose country he (Esarhaddon) had ruled, this (same) Tirhakah forgot the might of Ashur, Ishtar and the (other) great gods, my lords, and put his trust upon his own power. He turned against the kings (and) regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt. He entered and took residence in Memphis (Me-im-pi), the city which my own father had conquered and incorporated into Assyrian territory. An express messenger came to Nineveh to report to me. I became very angry on account of these happenings; my soul was aflame. (ANET 294)

En route to Egypt he gathered recruits from over twenty vassal territories.

> I made these kings accompany my army over the land - as well as (over) the sea-route with their armed forces and their ships (respectively). Quickly I advanced as far as Kar-Baniti to bring speedy relief to the kings and regents in Egypt, servants who belong to me. Tirhakah, king of Egypt (Musur) and Nubia, heard in Memphis of the coming of my expedition and he called up his warriors for a decisive battle against me... I defeated the battle (-experienced) soldiers of his army in a great open battle. Tirhakah heard in Memphis of the defeat of his army (and) the (terror-inspiring) splendor of Ashur and Ishtar blinded (lit. overwhelmed) him (thus) that he became like a madman. The glamour of my kingship with which the gods of heaven and nether world have endowed me, dazzled him and he left Memphis and fled, to save his life, into the town Ni (Thebes). This town (too) I seized and led my army into it to repose (there). (ANET 294)

The rebellion was quashed. The record resumes with Ashurbanipal re-establishing as vassals, over the city-states and nomes of Egypt, the kings and governors originally set up by his father. The list is revealing:

> Necho (Ni-ku-u), king of Memphis and Sais (Sa-a-a), Sharruludari, king of Si'nu, Pishanhuru, king of Nathu, Pakruru, king of (Pi)Shaptu, Bukkununni'pi, king of Athribis (Ha-at-hi-ri-bi), Nahke, king of Hininshi, Putubishti, king of Tanis (Sa-'a-nu), Unamunu, king of Nathu, Harsiaeshu, king of Sabnuti, Buaima, king of Pitinti, Shishak (Su-si-in-qu), king of Busiris (Bu-si-ru), Tabnahti, king of Punubu, Bukkananni'pi king of Ahni, Iptihardeshu, king of

> Pihattihurunpi (ki), Nahtihuruansini, king of Pishabdi'a, Bukurninip, king of Pahnuti, Siha, king of Siut (Si-ia-a-u-tu), Lamentu, king of Himuni (Hermopolis), Ishpinatu, king of Taini, Mantimanhe, king of Thebes; these kings, governors and regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt and who had left their offices in the face of the uprising of Tirhakah and had scattered into the open country, I reinstalled in their offices and in their (former) seats of office. (Thus) I seized anew (control over) Egypt (Musur) and Nubia which (already) my own father had conquered; I made the garrisons stronger than before and the(ir) regulations (more) severe. With many prisoners and heavy booty I returned safely to Nineveh. (ANET 294)

We can only speculate on the whereabouts of Tarqu between the wars of 671 B.C. and 667 B.C., the likely date of Ashurbanipal's first campaign. Thebes is most likely, since that is where he seeks refuge in flight from Ashurbanipal. He may temporarily have vacated Thebes for sanctuary in lower Nubia. Tarqu is called the king of Egypt and Nubia. Ashurbanipal elsewhere calls Thebes (Ni') "the royal residence of Egypt (Musur) and Nubia (Kusu)."[102] Takeloth III was a Theban (and thus a Nubian) pharaoh.

Ashurbanipal names 20 kings as administrators of Egypt. It is curious to note how many of them are familiar names from the 22nd/23rd dynasty and are possibly the same kings we see in table 8 and figure 13.[103] We immediately recognize Harsiese (Harsiaeshu) and Pedubast (Putubishti) and Sheshonk (Su-si-in-qu). Limintu is Nimlot as previously mentioned. Kitchen identifies a Nimlot C as a high priest under Osorkon II, but we could argue that he functioned instead under Osorkon III. Buaima (or equally Puaima) and Bukkananni'pi are recognizable as Pemay and Bakennefi A, sons of Sheshonk III[104]

Tabnahti is Tefnakht. Another king by this name will battle with Piankhi late in the 7th century (past tense and in the 8th century in the traditional history). Kitchen finds the name on a donation stela from Buto, the text of which is unfinished. It is dated in the 38th year of an unknown king. He argues that "the Buto stela of Tefnakht can definitely be dated to year 38 of either Shoshenq (III) or (V)."[105] He chooses Shoshenq V for reasons based on the traditional chronology. From the occurrence of the name in the Assyrian annals it is best connected with Shoshenq III.

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[102] ANET 297

[103] In the listing of kings in Table 8 and Figure 13 several of the kings and dignitaries, including Pedubast I, Sheshonk IV, and Harsiese, are said to have died around 673 B.C. But those figures result from the systematic lowering of dates from the king lists of Aston and Jansen-Winkeln. Those dates could well be in error by the six or seven years necessary to extend the lives of these Egyptians into the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, under whom they continued to exercise limited authority as vassals. These kings may well have stopped inscribing monuments in their own name once they became vassals of Esarhaddon.

[104] TIP 305

[105] TIP 85

According to Kitchen most of the Delta rulers named by Ashurbanipal, Tefnakht included, are "no more than local mayors, chiefs of second rank." (TIP 357) He has to argue this. In the traditional history (which places the 25th dynasty in the time of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, plus the first few years of Ashurbanipal) the king names in Ashurbanipal's list are out of place. Those names, with few possible exceptions, belong to the 22nd and 23rd dynasties.

Ignoring these apparent 22nd dynasty anachronisms, and acting instead on the belief that Tarqu was the 25th dynasty pharaoh Taharka in the last years of his life, scholars proceeded to search Ashurbanipal's annals for some indication of an impending dynastic change. In the traditional history, within a few years of Ashurbanipal's 667 B.C. invasion, the Saite dynasty must be installed in office and the Assyrian army driven from the Delta. What evidence exists that the apparent 22nd dynasty connections in the Assyrian annals are an illusion and that we are instead in the age of Taharka and Psamtik I?

Search for Saite Dynasty Antecedents

Notice was taken of Mantimanhe, king of Thebes in Ashurbanipal's list. This king was immediately identified by most scholars with Mentuemhet, a 4th prophet of Thebes whose life overlapped the reigns of Taharka and Psamtik I. But Mantimanhe was a king and Mentuemhet consistently identifies himself as 4th prophet of Amon. He never claims royal status. As we will soon see, his life was consumed in repairing the devastation caused by Nebuchadrezzar yet a century away. Instead we suggest tentatively that the reference is to Mutemhet, identified in one text as the wife of king Osorkon (Osorkon I according to Egyptologists; Osorkon III according to this revision). Petrie says of her: "She was the great heiress of the kingdom, as appears by her double cartouche, Amen.mery, Mut.em.hat, Mut.mery Karomama on her beautiful bronze statue inlaid with gold".[106] There is no time to defend the claim, save to say that if she was the wife of Osorkon III, who apparently died in the 667 B.C. invasion, she would be the likely choice to succeed her husband. It is known that she claimed royal status. Petrie calls her the “heiress of the kingdom.” And she lived in Thebes.[107]

Apart from Mantimanhe, the search for Saite dynasty antecedents centered on Niku (Ni-ku-u), king of Memphis and Sais (Sa-a-a) in the Assyrian list of Egyptian kings. Scholars claim that he was the father of Psamtik I. To properly critique the argument we need to continue the story.

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[106] HE III 246

[107] The identification is not critical. If correct, scholars will recognize that we are here equating Kitchen's Mutemhet A and B (TIP 48-49) They will also note that the identification implies a 21st dynasty connection lurking in the background. There are also implications for the institution of the “god's wife of Amon” at Thebes. The subject of god’s wives will be taken up in the 2nd book of this revision.

Ashurbanipal returned to Nineveh with considerable plunder after his 667 B.C. battle. Almost immediately several kings planned a renewed rebellion, in connection with which they sent messages seeking the assistance of Tarqu, now in exile and called merely the "king of Nubia". The plot was discovered. Ashurbanipal documented his response.

> (But) my officers heard about these matters, seized their mounted messengers with their messages and thus learned about their rebellious doings. They arrested these kings and put their hands and feet in iron cuffs and fetters. The (consequences of the broken) oaths (sworn) by Ashur, the king of the gods, befell them. I called to account those who had sinned against the oath (sworn by) the great gods (and those) whom I had treated (before) with clemency. And they (the officers) put to the sword the inhabitants, young and old, of the towns of Sais, Pindidi, Tanis and of all the other towns which had associated with them to plot, they did not spare anybody among (them). They hung their corpses from stakes, flayed their skins and covered (with them) the wall of the town(s). Those kings who had repeatedly schemed they brought alive to me to Nineveh. From all of them, I had only mercy upon Necho (Niku) and granted him life. I made (a treaty) with him (protected by) oaths which greatly surpassed (those of the former treaty). I clad him in a garment with multicoloured trimmings, placed a golden chain on him (as the) insigne of his kingship, put golden rings on his hands; I wrote my name (phonetically) upon an iron dagger (to be worn in) the girdle, the mounting of which was golden, and gave it to him. I presented him (furthermore) with chariots, horses and mules as means of transportation (befitting) his position as ruler. I sent with him (and) for his assistance, officers of mine as governors. I returned to him Sais as residence (the place) where my own father had appointed him king. Nabushezibanni, his son, I appointed for Athribis (thus) treating him with more friendliness and favor than my own father did. The terror of the (sacred) weapon of Ashur, my lord, overcame Tirhakah (Tarqu) where he had taken refuge and he was never heard of again. (ANET 295)

Immediately following the discovery of the Assyrian annals in the 19th century the assumption was made and defended that the Assyrian appointee named Niku was the father of Psamtik I. Manetho lists a Nechao as the immediate ancestor of Psamtik I in his list of "nine kings of Sais." This Nechao supposedly reigned 8 years. Esarhaddon had established Niku as king of Sais in 671 B.C. and this favorite son of Assurbanipal ruled at least till 665 B.C., the likely date for his return to Sais following the aborted coup. . Therefore Niku must be Necao and Neco's son Nabushezibanni might possibly be Psamtik I. The argument ends there. The rests is assumption and innuendo. There is no evidence that Niku died within two years of his return to office and was replaced by a son named Psamtik. There is no confirmation that Nabushezibanni is Psamtik. The entire structure of the traditional Saite history is supported at its upper end by a very fragile argument.

When we examine the reign of Psamtik I later in this revision we will find no reference to the Assyrians. There will be a complete disparity between circumstances in Psamtik's early life and those which prevail in the time of Ashurbanipal. Herodotus knows nothing of any connection between Psamtik and Niku or between Psamtik and the Assyrians. The Assyrians say nothing about Psamtik.

Though not all scholars assume that Nabushezibanni is Psamtik I, the claim is typically made that his Assyrian overlords gave him this Assyrian name. It is supposed that Esarhaddon gave Assyrian names to several of his Egyptian governor/kings. But Cylinder E says, concerning Esarhaddon, "The former names of the cities he changed, giving them new denominations."[108] There is nothing said in the annals about changing the names of individuals. If several of the king names are Assyrian it should follow that those kings are Assyrian, not Egyptian. If Niku's son has an Assyrian name, then Niku must have given it to him. Was Niku therefore an Assyrian? The Assyrian annals record elsewhere (BM text K) that Niku, Sharruludari, and Pakruru were the instigators of the 666 B.C. attempted coup. Sharruludari is an Assyrian name. Perhaps Pakruru is as well. These three kings were given important kingships in the Egyptian delta. Following the unsuccessful coup attempt the three were afforded special treatment. The culpable 22nd dynasty kings were brutally murdered. Niku, Sharruludari and Pakruru were taken to Nineveh, where two of the three were later executed. Only Niku was spared. But why were the Egyptian inhabitants of the rebellious cities ruled by these three rebels treated mercilessly while the rebel kings were at least temporarily spared. That is certainly not typical Assyrian practice. Foreign kings are the first to be impaled and hung up outside their city walls as examples.

It is likely that Niku was an Assyrian. Nabushezibanni was his Assyrian son. His favoured treatment was probably due to his nationality. Perhaps he was related to Ashurbanipal.

Assumed Loss of Egypt

If the Assyrian nationality of Niku is disputed, nothing is lost. He cannot be the father of Psamtik regardless, because there is no place for Psamtik and the Saite dynasty in the Assyrian annals. Those annals clearly indicate that Assyria did not lose Egypt to Psamtik or to anyone else within several decades of the 666 B.C. attempted coup, much less within a few years. The drafts of the annals that we have been reading were not written till at least twenty years, and closer to thirty years later. They contain no mention that Egypt has been lost in the interim. And in view of the prominent position of Egypt in the annals elsewhere it is inconceivable that the loss of that country would not have been described in great detail. The absence of evidence to the contrary leaves the distinct impression that throughout those thirty years political life in Egypt remained

[108] ANET 296

much as Esarhaddon left it.

Flinders Petrie, examining the political landscape in the time of Ashurbanipal, comments:

> The country was divided among twenty petty rulers, who had been established by Esarhaddon; these so closely parallel the chiefs subject to Piankhy I, that it seems the country had continued to be divided in the same way throughout the couple of generations of the Ethiopian rule. (HE III 298)

Petrie believed that the conditions which prevailed in the time of Ashurbanipal were those which existed at the time of Piankhi's invasion, this on the assumption that Piankhi invaded Egypt 50 years before the arrival of Esarhaddon. But Piankhi's invasion is 50 years in the future. His arrival and the rise of the 25th dynasty coincide with the decline of Assyria, not its ascendancy. Petrie's observation needs to be turned on its heels. The conditions that prevailed in the days of Ashurbanipal continued relatively unchanged till near the end of the reign of Ashurbanipal in 628 B.C., which date corresponds roughly to the time of Piankhi. Even after the death of Ashurbanipal, under the reign of his successor Sinsharishkun, Egypt and Assyria were diplomatically united, as we saw in chapter one of this revision. Assyria did not lose Egypt in a rebellion otherwise unrecorded in the Assyrian annals. Assyria lost Egypt only when her power and authority waned in the closing years of Ashurbanipal. As Assyrian power waned the 25th dynasty pharaohs Piankhi and Shabaka assumed control of Egypt.

This lengthy domination of Egypt by Assyria will find further confirmation as we continue.

We need to pause briefly to answer an objection that the critic must by now be voicing. We have stated rather emphatically that the Assyrian annals do not record the loss of Egypt to Psamtik I. If so, then how is it that the history books say otherwise? Gardiner, whom we have quoted frequently, is a case in point. In his section concerned with Saite dynasty origins he refers to Assyrian annals wherein "the circumstance which enabled Psammetichus to free himself from the Assyrian domination is recounted in an altogether trustworthy manner."[109] What is the nature of this trustworthy reference?

Tushamilki King of Musru

The first campaign of Ashurbanipal took place in 667 B.C. The attempted coup and its suppression occurred in all probability the next year, 666 B.C. The reinstallation of Niku on the throne of Sais can be dated to 665 B.C. Later that same year or early the next there was another attempt to usurp Assyrian control of the country, this time by a

[109] Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 353

successor of Tarqu named Urdamanie. This prompted a second campaign by Ashurbanipal. The substance of this second campaign will be examined later in this chapter.

The same Rassam cylinder annals which described these first two campaigns also describes a third, possibly dated two or three years later than the second, certainly no earlier than 662 B.C. This expedition was directed against Tyre and Arvad and other territories northward along the eastern Mediterranean coast. At the same time that Ashurbanipal was reasserting control of these Phoenician territories, Gyges, the king of Lydia in western Anatolia, was being overwhelmed by Cimmerian hordes from the north. Gyges sought help from Ashurbanipal and with Assyrian assistance repulsed the invaders.

> Guggu (Gyges), king of Lydia, a district of the other side of the sea, a distant place, whose name, the kings, my fathers, had not heard. Assur, the god, my creator, caused to see my name in a dream. "Lay hold of the feet of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria and conquer thy foes by calling upon his name." On the day that he beheld this vision, he dispatched his messenger to bring greetings to me. (An account of) this vision, which he beheld, he sent to me by the hand of his messenger, and made it known to me. From the day that he laid hold of my royal feet, he overcame, by the help of Assur and Ishtar, the gods, my lords, the Cimmerians, who had been harassing the people of his land, who had not feared my father, nor had laid hold even of my royal feet. From among the chieftains of the Cimmerians, whom he had conquered, he shackled two chieftains with shackles, fetters of iron, manacles of iron, and sent them to me, together with his rich gifts. (LAR II.784)

Gyges was thankful to receive Assyrian aid, but his gratitude was tempered by his fear of Assyrian aggression. Assurbanipal was becoming as much a threat as the Cimmerians. As Ashurbanipal moved toward the tiny Phoenician buffer state of Musur in southeastern Anatolia, Gyges decided to halt his advance. He sent troops to support Tushamilki, its king.

> His (Gyges') messenger, whom he kept sending to me to bring me greetings, he (suddenly) discontinued, because he did not heed the word of Assur, the god who created me, but trusted in his own strength, and hardened his heart. He sent his forces to the aid of Tushamilki, king of Musur, who had thrown off the yoke of my sovereignty. I heard of it and prayed to Assur and Ishtar, saying: "May his body be cast before his enemy, may (his foes) carry off his limbs." The Cimmerians, whom he had trodden underfoot, by calling upon my name, invaded and overpowered the whole of his land. His (Gyges') son seated himself upon his throne, after him (i.e., his death). He sent me, by the hand of his messenger, (an account) of the evil which the gods, my helpers, visited upon him (in answer) to my prayers, and he laid hold of my royal feet, saying: " Thou art the king whom the god has favoured (lit. looked upon). Thou didst curse my

> father and evil was visited upon him. I am (thy) slave, who fears thee, be gracious unto me and I will bear (lit. draw) thy yoke." (LAR II.785)

We have made but a single change to the translation provided by Luckenbill in his *Ancient Records of Assyria*. He interprets the place name Musur as a reference to Egypt; we leave the place name precisely as it appears in the Assyrian text. It is claimed by scholars that here, in an offhand remark intended to explain the rise and fall of Gyges, king of Lydia, we are furnished with the desired proof that Psamtik I had wrested control of Egypt from Assyria. It is assumed that Gyges has sent troops across the Mediterranean to assist Egypt (Musur) and Egypt's king (Tushamilki = Psamtik I)) fend off Assyrian troops after a coup led by Psamtik. The story is reproduced as such in all books and monographs concerned with Egyptian Saite dynasty history. It is further claimed, as by Gardiner above, that this interpretation of the inscription is altogether reliable. But nothing could be further from the truth. It is a complete misrepresentation. The matter is serious enough to warrant a closer look.

Egyptologists without exception interpret Musur in this Lydian narrative as a reference to Egypt. This is, after all, the name by which Egypt is typically known elsewhere in these same annals.[110] But Musur (Musru or Musri) is not the only country by that name in the eastern Semitic world.

Twice elsewhere Musur appears as an Assyrian place name in the annals of Tiglath Pilezar (744-727 B.C.). Both instances refer to the installation of Idi-bi'li as a Warden of Marches on the border of Musur. It is clear from the context that this country was located somewhere near Que in south-eastern Asia Minor, precisely where we anticipate it should be located based on an unbiased reading of the Gyges incident.

> I installed Idi-bi'li as a Warden of Marches on the border of Musur. In all the countries which ... [I received] the tribute of Kushtashpi of Commagene (Kummuhu), Urik of Qu'e, Sibitti'be'l of Byblos, ... Enil of Hamath, Panammu of Samk'al, Tarhulara of Gumgum, Sulumal of Militene, ...[111]

This Musur was a country with a lengthy tradition of independence and opposition to Assyrian control. In the famous battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C. Musur had supplied 1000 troops to augment the 500 supplied by its neighbour Que, to assist Ahab of Israel and Hadadezer of Damascus in their fight with Shalmanezer III. Oppenheim appends a

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[110] The annals frequently separate Egypt into Lower Egypt (Musur) and Upper Egypt, which appears to include the northern extremities of Ethiopia (Kusu). Cush is therefore more a reference to Egypt than it is to Nubia. Nubia proper is called Meluhha by the Assyrians. However, these distinctions are not consistently followed. As Oppenheim notes in reference to one problematic text: "This text uses the geographical terms Musru, Magan, Melukkha etc. rather loosely" (ANET 292 n.1) Cf. comments in note 80.

[111] ANET 282. Cf. the footnote reference provided by Oppenheim to P. Naster, L'Asie Mineure et l'Assyrie aux VIII'e et VIIe siecles av. J.-C. d'apres les annales des rois assyriene, (1938).

footnote to his translation of the relevant text:

> Here, the name Musru refers probably to a country in southern Asia Minor (cf. Winckler, Arabisches Musri in MVAG, xi [1906], 102-116, and E.F. Weidner [apud H. Bauer] in AfO, viii [1932-3], 4, n.3, as well as recently in AfO, xiv (1941), 45, for three, or even more, countries bearing this name). The basic meaning of Musru is always "march" (from Masdru "to mark, draw a line"), i.e. "border country." (ANET 279 n.9)

Even if this evidence for the existence of a Musur in southern Asia Minor were lacking we should be forced to conjecture its existence. The natural reading of the text demands it. Lydia was under siege by the Cimmerians from the north. The Assyrians to the east further threatened her sovereignty. Yet scholars inform us that Gyges' solution to the problem was to send his troops south, five hundred miles across the Mediterranean, to act as mercenaries in a war of independence in Egypt.[112] The logic of this military strategy escapes us. Yet Gardiner is convinced of its essential soundness. Both the traditional and the revised interpretations of the Gyges incident are pictured in figures 14 and 15 respectively. Let the reader decide which one is correct.

The matter is further complicated by the inclusion of the name of the king of Musur. Tushamilki is not an Egyptian name - it is east Semitic, almost certainly Phoenician. Already on his third campaign Ashurbanipal had encountered Abimilki and Ahimilki, sons of Iakinlu, king of Arvad. Ba'al-maluku was yet another brother. On his first campaign Ashurbanipal had dealings with Ahumilki, king of Ashdod and Milkiashapa, king of Byblos. Earlier still his father Esarhaddon had encountered another Ahimilki, king of Ashdod and an Abdimilkutte, king of Sidon. There can be no mistaking these personal names, all compounded with nominal forms of *mlk*, the Semitic word for "king" (cf. Heb. melek).

From the outset a suggestion was made to read the Assyrian personal name as Pishamilki, rather than Tushamilki, this for a rather obvious reason. Pishamilki at least bears some visual resemblance to the Greek form of Psamtik's name - Psammetichus. The reading, however, could not be defended, and has subsequently been abandoned, though periodically we see the name resurrected or appearing in brackets beside Tushamilki, as if its inclusion solves the problem.

No explanation is forthcoming how Psamtik acquired a Phoenician name.

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[112] We must assume the troops were sent by ship, even though a Lydian navy is no part of the text. To assume they travelled 1500 miles by land through the Phoenician coast occupied by the Assyrian army makes even less sense that the already strained interpretation.

Figure 14: Gyges Incident (Traditional History) – Lydia is threatened by Cimmerians and by Ashurbanipal – solution is to send troops 500 miles away to assist Musur (= Egypt) ruled by Psamtik (= Tushamilki)

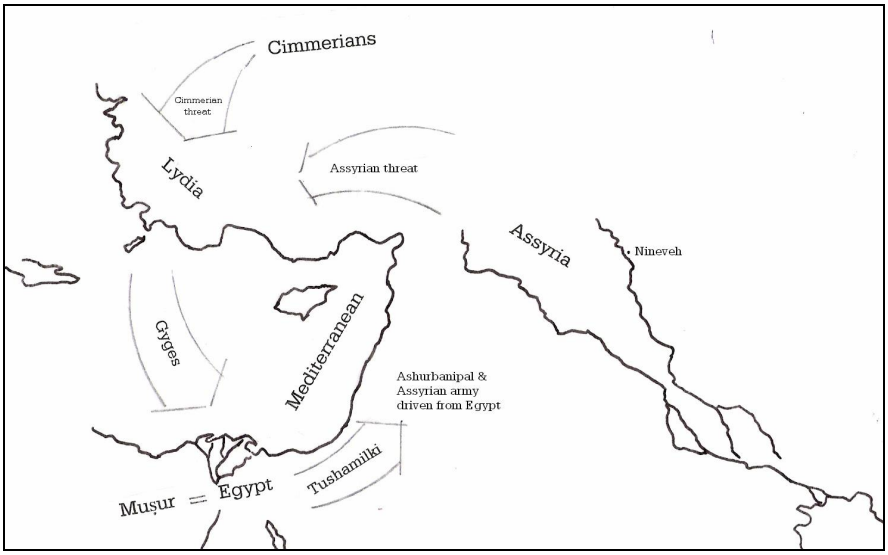
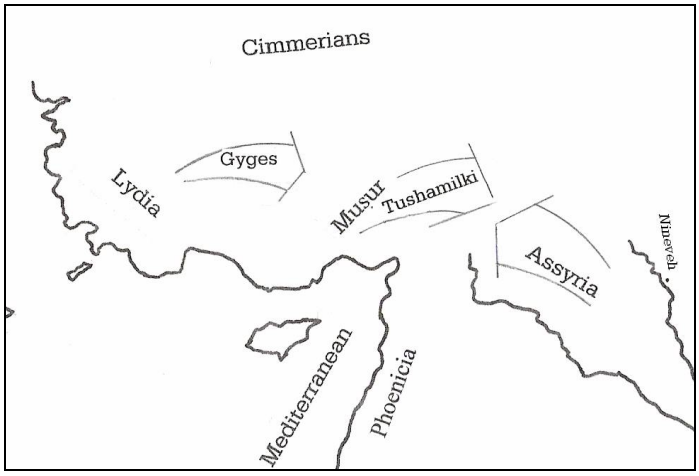


Figure 15: Gyges Incident (Revised History) - Lydia is threatened by Cimmerians and by Ashurbanipal – solution is to lend support to buffer state of Musur ruled by the Phoenician king Tushamilki.



A final related problem remains unexplained. The third campaign of Ashurbanipal began during or subsequent to the year 662 B.C. Gyges sending troops to assist Tushamilki in his struggle against Assyria cannot possibly be dated before 661 B.C. But according to the traditional history Psamtik drove the Assyrians from Egypt in 664 B.C. and founded a dynasty that lasted 139 years. The year 661 B.C. was the 4th year of Psamtik I in the traditional history. When we examine that same 4th year later in this revision, as described in a demotic papyrus, we will see that this assumed military conflict between Ashurbanipal and an Egyptian/Lydian coalition is an illusion.

Gardiner's confidence notwithstanding, the Gyges incident is not a description of the end of Assyrian domination of Egypt. Tushamilki king of Musur is not Psamtik king of Egypt. To have conjectured otherwise was surely wishful thinking on the part of traditionalist Egyptologists, who must have recognized the difficulty of maintaining the fiction of the rise of the 26th dynasty in 664 B.C. if the Assyrians remained in the country for thirty years thereafter.

Having dispensed with Ashurbanipal's third campaign, we return momentarily to examine his second.

Rudamon & His Successors

Ashurbanipal's Second Campaign

Following the aborted coup attempt in 666 B.C. Tarqu was never heard from again. We can assume he died early in 665 B.C. since later that same year the antagonist of Ashurbanipal is another Cushite king named Urdamanie. Oppenheim translates from the Rassam cylinder:

> Afterwards URdamane, son of Shabaku (var.: son of his [Tarqu's] sister), sat down on the throne of his kingdom. He made Thebes and Heliopolis (U-nu) his fortresses and assembled his (armed) might. He called up his battle (-experienced soldiers) to attack my troops, (and) the Assyrians stationed in Memphis. He surrounded these men and seized (all) their communications (lit. exits). An express messenger came to Nineveh and told me about this. In my second campaign I marched directly against Egypt (Musur) and Nubia. URdamane heard of the approach of my expedition (only when) I had (already) set foot on Egyptian territory. He left Memphis and fled into Thebes to save his life. The kings, governors, and regents whom I had installed in Egypt came to meet me and kissed my feet. I followed URdamane (and) went as far as Thebes, his fortress. He saw my mighty battle array approaching, left Thebes and fled to Kipkipi. Upon a trust (-inspiring) oracle of Ashur and Ishtar I, myself, conquered this town completely. From Thebes I carried away booty, heavy and

> beyond counting: silver, gold, precious stones, his entire personal possessions, linen garments with multi-coloured trimmings, fine horses, (certain) inhabitants, male and female. I pulled two high obelisks, cast of shining zahalu-bronze, the weight of which was 2,500 talents, standing at the door of the temple, out of their bases and took (them) to Assyria. (Thus) I carried off from Thebes heavy booty, beyond counting. I made Egypt (Musur) and Nubia feel my weapons bitterly and celebrated my triumph. 'With full hands and safely, I returned to Nineveh, the city (where I exercise) my rule. (ANET 295)

The identity of Urdamanie was the object of scholarly research from the first moments the annals were read.

Rudamon

In 1866 Edward Hincks in a journal article informed the general public of the recent finds from Assyria. "It will appear strange to many readers of this journal," he writes, "that an Assyrian army should at one time have penetrated to Thebes and sacked it." He goes on to identify several key names in the annals. From the outset Tarqu was identified with Taharka. The established history was already written; all subsequent evidence must conform to it. But Urdamanie was not part of the established history. We thus receive an unbiased interpretation.

> As to the name Urdamani, I first observe that Ursa, who was king of Armenia in the reign of Sargon, is also called Rusa. The Assyrians seem to have disliked an initial r, and to have prefixed an א (Hebrew letter *aleph*) with the vowel that should follow the r before it. Rudamani may, therefore, have been the true form of the Egyptian name represented. This is the (*cartouche of Rudamon drawn*) of the hieroglyphics, a name borne by a king mentioned by M. de Rouge in his "Inscription Historique" p. 18, who is named in a Gurna inscription there cited. This, however, was not the king with whom we have now to do. He must have lived more than a century earlier. M. de Rouge also cites royal names, which he reads Ra-user-ma setep-en-Amon Amenrut-meri-Amen, as occurring on a vase of rock-crystal at the Louvre. I think it likely that this belonged to the stepson of Taharqa. [113]

Hincks is not referring to the text of the Rassam cylinder translated earlier by Oppenheim. Instead he refers to a parallel version of the Assyrian annals known as cylinder A. We learn three things from this Assyrian text as interpreted by Hincks. The name of Tarqu's successor was Urdamanie. He is identified as the son of a wife (NIN) of Tarqu. And he would have been identified with a king by the name Rudamon, known on the monuments, except that that king lived one hundred years too early.

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[113] Edward Hincks, "The Assyrian sacking of Thebes," ZAS 4 (1866) p. 1-3.

Oppenheim corrects Hincks on at least one point. Interpreting the Sumerian ideogram NIN as "sister" rather than "wife", he refers to Urdamanie instead as a son of Tarqu's sister. Most scholars agree. Urdamanie was Tarqu's nephew, not his stepson. Leaving aside for the moment the questionable reference to his being a "son of Shabaka", we look for Urdamanie in our revised history.

We have no problem identifying him as Rudamon, whose name occurs in Table 8 immediately after Takeloth III. He was the immediate successor of that king in the 23rd dynasty. He is of course the same as the first king cited by M. de Rouge in Hincks' article, but with the lowering of the dates of the dynasty in this revision he is no longer a century too early. He is also the king named on the rock crystal vase cited by de Rouge, which does not date to the time of Taharka as Hincks seems to think. According to Petrie the Rudamon on this vase is "said to be a son of a king Uasarkon, probably the IIIrd (Rec. xix.20), and to be the father of king Pef-dudu-bast of Henensuten (L.D. iii. 284 a)".[114]

There are two problems with our identification of Urdamanie and Rudamon. The first is the reference to Rudamon as the son of Osorkon III, mentioned by Flinders Petrie. The second is the reference to Rudamon as "son of Shabaka" in the Rassam cylinder annals. We treat these two problems in order.

Rudamon, Grandson of Osorkon III

The vase inscription itself is not the source of the problem. When Petrie says that the Rudamon named on the vase is said to be a son of King Osorkon III, he is looking elsewhere for the latter bit of information. The vase itself contains only the cartouche names of Rudamon. The identification of Rudamon as a son of Osorkon III derives instead from a block inscription found at Medinet Habu in Thebes. Kitchen, translating that inscription, agrees with Petrie.

> On a large reused block found at Medinet Habu, the 'Lord of the Two Lands Rudamun' is called 'King's Son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Osorkon, justified, possessing reverence'.[115] The Osorkon concerned must be Osorkon III, for the cartouches of Usimare Rudamun Meryamun occur in the temple of Osiris which had been built and largely decorated by Osorkon III and Takeloth III. The latter king would thus have been succeeded by his brother. (TIP 101)

This inscription is the sole basis on which Petrie and Kitchen base their claim that Rudamon was the son of Osorkon III, and therefore, that Takeloth III was his brother.

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[114] HE III 265

[115] Kitchen cites as references Darressy, RT 19 (1897) 20-21 and Gauthier, *Les Livres des Rois* III p. 392 5.1.

Accordingly the claim is made that "Takeloth III was succeeded not by a son, but by a younger brother, Rudamun, of whose reign, which was probably brief, the merest traces are known."[116]

If we accept Kitchen's translation of the Medinet Habu block inscription then we must believe with him that Rudamon and Takeloth III were brothers, both sons of Osorkon III. But according to the cylinder A version of the Assyrian annals, Urdamanie (Rudamon) was the son of the sister of Tarqu (Takeloth III) and thus the grandson of Osorkon III. Therein lies the problem. How do we reconcile the annals and the block inscription?

There is a simple solution to the dilemma. If "son" means "grandson", as often in Egyptian, then Rudamon becomes a grandson of Osorkon III on the block inscription, as in the annals. There is no longer a problem. The relationship is diagrammed below in figure 16.

There is, however, no need to assume that "son" means "grandson". Kitchen, following Petrie and others, has mistranslated the text. The Medinet Habu block actually says: "Lord of the Two Lands Rudamon, justified, *king's daughter* of the Lord of the Two Lands, Osorkon, justified, possessing reverence'. There is clearly an error in the text. In fact, the Egyptologist Henri Gauthier, in his transcription of the identical sentence, identifies two errors. Only the first is relevant. He corrects "king's daughter" to "king's son",[117] as do Petrie and Kitchen following. But at least Gauthier indicates the presence of the error.

We disagree with all three Egyptologists, who assume that the Egyptian scribe has mistakenly added a feminine indicator (t) to the hieroglyph for “son”, thus creating the word for “daughter”. We think it more likely that he has omitted, rather than added, a hieroglyph. There appears to be missing from the text the sign for “son” [egg hieroglyph] preceding the signs for king's "daughter" [egg and t hieroglyphs]. The error would result naturally as an haplography or deliberately due to confusion on the part of the artisan, who misunderstood this unusual double construct. The text originally planned would have referred to Rudamon as the “son of the king's daughter of Osorkon", precisely as in the Assyrian annals.

So much for the genealogy of Rudamon on his mother’s side. It is established with reasonable certainty. The fact that Rudamon and Urdamanie were nephews of Takeloth III and Tarqu respectively, and that each succeeded his uncle and ruled only briefly, further settles the question of their identity. The likelihood of such a coincidental correspondence of genealogies occurring in the case of kings whose regnal dates, independently established, are otherwise identical, is all but impossible if we do not accept the equations Takeloth III = Tarqu and Rudamon = Urdamanie. The genealogy

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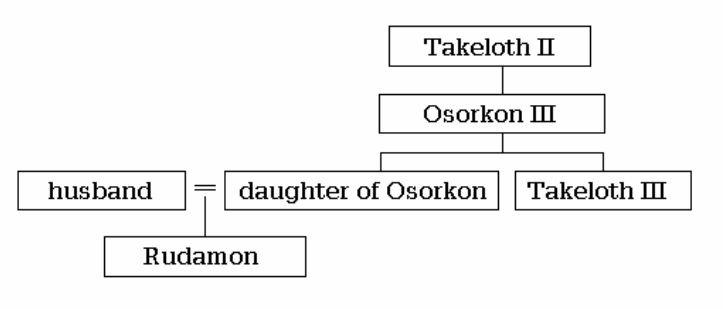
[116] TIP 322

[117] Gauthier, op. cit. (G3,392.5.I), cf. note 26. Gauthier does not in fact translate the text, but notes the errors (with “sic.”) and thus implies the change.

of Rudamon depicted in figure 16 is also the genealogy of Urdamanie.

Figure 16: Immediate Ancestry of Rudamon



Before we turn our attention to the father of Urdamanie/Rudamon we need to look one last time at the traditional history, in which Rudamon and Urdamanie lived a century apart. If Urdamanie is not Rudamon, then who is he? With whom do traditional historians identify this enigmatic king?

Tanuatamon

The search for Urdamanie in the traditional history was difficult. The only possible candidate was Tanuatamon, a Nubian king associated with Taharka on a few monuments. An undated stela inscription of this king describes an attack by him on Egypt, initiated from his home in Nubia. It mentions a Pakruru. But no other details of the inscription remotely resemble the Assyrian context in which Urdamanie's insurrection took place. Besides, was not Pakruru among the rebel kings removed to Nineveh with Niku? And was not Niku the only king returned alive? Undaunted, scholars persisted with the identification of Urdamanie and Tanuatamon. The lack of correspondence of name was troublesome, but Assyriologists, after several ingenious though somewhat contrived attempts, and a century of effort, finally determined that the UR sign might be read as Tan and the name might be read Tandamani.[118] Close enough for the critics.

But Tanuatamon or Tandamani is not Urdamanie. Tanuatamon invaded the whole of Egypt from a location hundreds of miles to the south of Egypt. Urdamanie did not invade Egypt at all. According to the Assyrian text he had previously established roots in Thebes and Heliopolis, in the south and north of Egypt respectively. When opportunity arose the Egyptian troops loyal to him expelled the Assyrian garrisons in

[118] *Third Intermediate Period* 120 n.276

nearby Memphis and in Thebes. The description of his insurrection contained in the Assyrian annals bears no resemblance whatever to the invasion of Tanuatamon described on that king's stela. In the next chapter we will set the record straight concerning Tanuatamon.

Rudamon son of Shabaka?

Only one question remains. We have argued the case that Urdamanie, the successor of Tarqu in the annals of Ashurbanipal, must be identified as Rudamon, the son of the sister of his uncle Takeloth III of the Libyan 23rd dynasty. We have not commented on the identity of Rudamon's father. In particular we postponed comment on the problematic reference in the Rassam cylinder to "Urdamanie son of Shabaka". In order to define the problem it is necessary for us to digress momentarily and place Shabaka in historical context. This will give us opportunity to introduce the Egyptian 25th dynasty, a necessary step leading up to our treatment of Taharka in the next chapter.

Scholars typically identify the name Shabaka in the Rassam cylinder with either Shabataka or Shabaka, the kings who immediately precede Taharka in the succession of kings Manetho calls his 25th dynasty[119]. To date we have provided dates only for Taharka.[120] It is time to extend that courtesy to his predecessors.

While Taharka's dates (690-664 B.C.) are considered "certain" by historians, not so those of his ancestors. The reign length of Shabataka, brother and immediate predecessor of Taharka, varies from 3 to 13 years in various chronological schemes, and must now be increased to 16 years minimum based on a recently discovered inscription.[121] His dates, accordingly, would be 706-690 B.C. Shabaka, the father of Shabataka is credited with at minimum 15 years, the highest number on any of his dated inscriptions. If that figure is accurate his regnal years would fall in the time frame 721-706 B.C. These figures will suffice for the purposes at hand. Since we don't believe these kings actually reigned in the 8th century, we need not be more specific.

According to Manetho these were the only kings of the dynasty, but scholars have added a king Piankhi to the mix.[122] According to a stela erected by Piankhi himself, he

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[119] Manetho describes the dynasty as consisting of "three Ethiopian kings Sabacon, Sebichos, and Tarcos" and assigns them reign lengths of 8, 14 and 18 years (Africanus) or 12, 12 and 20 years (Eusebius) respectively.

[120] On page 65 we did have cause to mention Shabataka, on whose behalf Taharka supposedly led an army in opposition to Sennacherib. That incident alone has led scholars to assign this king a reign length of at least 11 years (701-690 B.C.)

[121] Discussion on the Tang-i-Var inscription follows immediately and in an appendix to this book.

[122] Some Egyptologists add at the beginning an enigmatic figure named Kashta, and at the end a king Tanuatamon. We say no more about Kashta until book two in our series. Tanuatamon is discussed later in this chapter.

invaded Egypt sometime prior to the reign of Shabaka in order to suppress a rebellion. Apparently sometime earlier he had taken possession of Egypt. Since the stela is dated in Piankhi's 21st year, we assume that his sovereignty over Egypt began 20 years before his invasion. That conclusion follows naturally. It matters little that Egyptologists think otherwise.

Since Aston dates Piankhi's invasion to around 738 B.C., his reign must have begun in 758 B.C., this according to the traditional history.

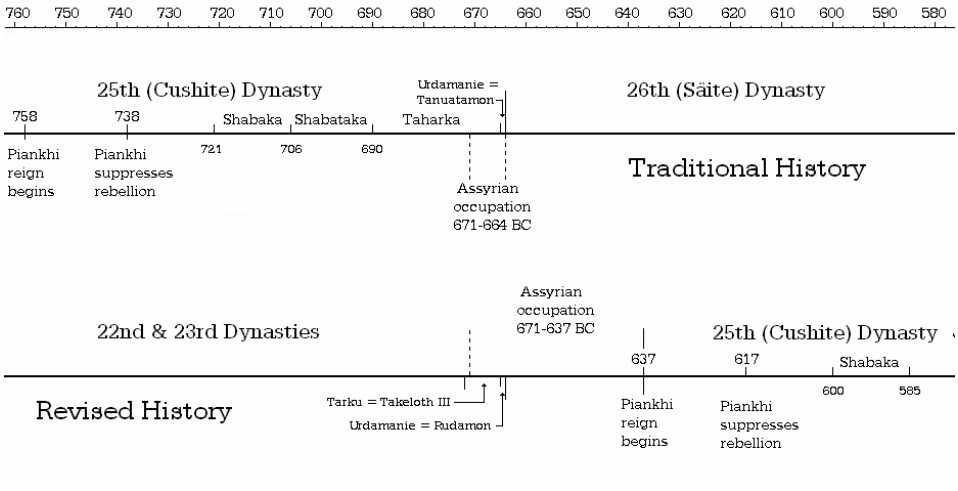
Needless to say, this entire dynasty has been repositioned in our revision. All dates discussed thus far are lowered by 121 years, moving these 25th dynasty kings from their traditional location preceding the Assyrian invasion of Egypt, to a position following. Since Piankhi assumed control of Egypt in the 1st year of his reign, 637 B.C. in the revised chronology (758 B.C. – 121 years = 637 B.C.), this must be the date when he supplanted the Assyrians as suzerain of the country. The invasion in his 21st year must have taken place in 617 B.C. The dates for Shabaka (600-585 B.C.) and Shabataka (585-569 B.C.) that result by subtracting 121 years from their traditional dates will be adjusted momentarily and in the book which follows. The two dates provided for Piankhi will not. They are remarkably accurate, as we will demonstrate in the second book of our revision.

Both traditional and revised dates for the 25th dynasty are reproduced in the timeline shown in figure 17 below.

These revised dates for the Ethiopian kings will be discussed further later in this chapter and early in the next. We are interested here in only one aspect of this displacement of the 25th dynasty.

With the 25th dynasty moved to the late 7th century the problem with the genealogical reference to "Urdamanie, son of Shabaka" is obvious. How is it possible for Urdamanie/Rudamon, who led an attempted coup and was subsequently driven out of Egypt in 664 B.C., to be the son of a 25th dynasty king who ruled late in the same 7th century or early in the 6th? But is it true that the Rassam cylinder refers to Urdamanie/Rudamon as the son of the 25th dynasty king Shabaka"?

Figure 17: Reduction of Dates for the 25th Dynasty



Who is Shabaku, father of URdamanie in the Assyrian annals, if he is not Shabaka or Shabataka of the 25th dynasty? Three possible explanations are readily available.[123] We examine them in order.

Shabaka = Ankhpakhered

Using one version of the Assyrian annals we have determined that Urdamanie was the son of a princess, the sister of the late king Tarqu. The scribe of the Rassam stela merely completes the genealogical picture, providing us with the name of the other parent This Shabaka, whoever he was, must have been a man of some stature, to have married a princess and fathered a king.

To identify the father of king Rudamon we need first correct the transcription and transliteration of the name in the Rassam cylinder. We have already noted how Assyriologists, in their haste to establish synchronisms between Assyrian and Egyptian chronologies, have tortured the cuneiform script to turn Urdamanie into Tanuatamon and Tushamilki into Psammetichus. They have also too readily accepted the transcription of

[123] We omit discussion of the possibility that the name Shabaku has been errantly transcribed and actually provides the name of the princess, the mother of Urdamanie, in which case the Rassam cylinder actually reads "Urdamanie, son of (female name)". In this case the Rassam and cylinder A texts (cf. bottom of page 90) would parallel one another.

the Rassam stela as a reference to Shabaka of the 25th dynasty.

The name is inscribed on the cylinder using four cuneiform signs that are transcribed as šá-ba-ku-u. But we must remember that Assyrian cuneiform signs, on the principle of polyphony, have multiple possible sound values. The sign which is transcribed as ba could also be given the value pá, and the initial sign transcribed šá could equally be assigned any of the common values ník, níq, nig, or gar (or any of several lesser used values). The selection of the appropriate phoneme, as one authority reminds the beginning student in Akkadian, "can be determined only by the context of the word or sentence".[124] For the translators of the Rassam cylinder, the context was an Egyptian 25th dynasty, for which Shabaka was a perfectly natural selection. For the present revision, the context is the Libyan 22nd/ 23rd dynasties. In this case the Rassam cylinder might be referring to ník-pá-ku-u, rather than šá-ba-ku-u. The ník sign will immediately be recognized as Egyptian 'ankh, and if we accept that ku-u can represent Egyptian kha, we can enquire as to the identity of Ankhpakha, the father of Rudamon and husband of the sister of Takeloth III of the 23rd dynasty. We do not have to look long and hard. Several applicants immediately line up with the proper credentials.

Thus far we have ignored the administrative sub-culture of the 22nd and 23rd dynasties. Kitchen discusses in excruciating detail the important family connections of the vizier Nakhtefmut and several relatives named Ankhpakhered.[125] Kitchen's genealogy is not without its critics, but it is clear that there did exist an Ankhpakhered (i) whose wife DjedMutesankh qualifies as a possible sister of Takeloth III. She is a generation removed from Takeloth II, and thus both she and Ankhpakhered lived at the time of the Assyrian invasion.[126] The identification is inviting, if not certain.

We suggest therefore that "Urdamanie, son of Shabaka" may be a reference to "Rudamon, son of Nikpakhu (Ankhpakhered)", which has been improperly transcribed and translated. If we are correct, then Rudamon's genealogy must be modified as in figure 18 below.

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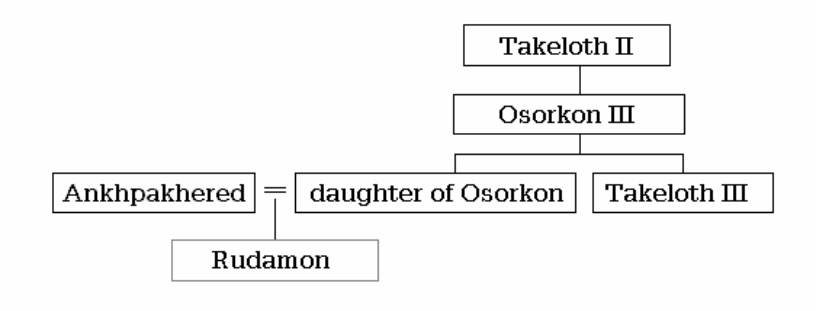
[124] T.A. Caldwell, John N. Oswalt, John F.X. Sheehan, eds. *An Akkadian Grammar*: A Translation of Riemschneider's *Lehrbuch des Akkadischen*, (1974) p.10.

[125] *Third Intermediate Period*, 180-181

[126] These same family connections are reviewed by M.L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (1975) whose remarks directed toward the activities of the family of DjedThutefankh B (Nakhtefmut A), which included Ankhpakhered, are pertinent: "The family of the Fourth Prophet of Amun DjedThutefankh B demonstrated far more acumen and ability than the families previously discussed. From a relatively obscure background the family managed **by the technique of frequent marriages to royal princesses** to win high office and then to hold it." (p. 85).(emphasis added)

Figure 18: Expanded Genealogy of Rudamon – First Possibility



But there is a second possibility, one that also preserves the integrity of the revised chronology. In this instance we accept the transcription of the name Shabaka at face value, or minimally as a reference to a king Shabataka.[127] In this scenario, the Assyrian annalist has correctly identified Rudamon as the son of Shabaka, but the Shabaka being referenced is not the 25th dynasty king by that name, but rather a Melukkhan king who ruled shortly before 700 B.C. The matter is sufficiently important and structurally complex to warrant separate treatment in an appendix to this book. Here we only highlight the essential features of the argument.

The Tang-i-Var Inscription

In a recently published monograph the Assyriologist Grant Frame claims to have discovered a reference to a Shabataka, king of Melukkha, in an inscription belonging to the Assyrian king Sargon (722-705 B.C.). The inscription is situated on a canyon wall in the remote Tang-i-Var pass in eastern Iraq. It was apparently inscribed in the final years of Sargon's life, and the relevant section of the text describes an incident most reasonably dated around 712 B.C. Melukkha, here as elsewhere in Assyrian texts, refers to a remote inaccessible region located somewhere south of Egypt. Most scholars view it

[127] Many Egyptologists assume that the Assyrian annalist mistakenly recorded the name as Shabaka, when Shabataka was intended. The reason is simple. Rudamon began his reign in 664 B.C. Shabaka died at least as early as 701 B.C. in most chronological schemes. (To account for Taharka's presence as head of Shabataka's army fighting against Sennacherib, Shabataka had to be king in Egypt. Therefore Shabaka must be dead.) It is much easier to rationalize the initial appearance of a son of Shabataka as king in 664 B.C. than a son of Shabaka. Shabaka died at least 35 years before Rudamon's appearance, Shabaka only 26 years. That argument is even more convincing today, if we accept the interpretation of the Tang-i-Var reference to Shabataka as king as early as 712 B.C. No scholar today can reasonably accept both the fact that Shabaka died before 712 B.C.and that his son Rudamon began his reign in 664 B.C. An error must be assumed somewhere.

as an alternate name for the region around Napata, the classical home of the 25th dynasty kings. If so it is synonymous with ancient Cush (Ethiopia).

We argue here and at length in an appendix that this Shabataka cannot be the 25th dynasty king who bears the identical name. In support of that conclusion we point to the fact that namesake kings are abundant within Egypt at this time in history. They are also commonplace elsewhere, and nowhere more so than in Melukkha (Cush). In a biblical genealogy of the founding fathers of ancient Cush five kings are named. Three bore names compounded with Sab.

> The sons of Ham: Cush, Mizraim, Put and Canaan.
> The sons of Cush: **Seb**a, Havilah, **Sab**tah, Raamah and **Sab**teca. Genesis 10:6,7 (emphasis added)

And we are by now well aware that of the three named kings of Manetho's 25th Cushite dynasty - Sabacon (Shabaka), Sebichos (Shabataka) and Tarcos (Taharka) - two derive their names from that same linguistic stem. According to Flinders Petrie the term Sab (or Shab) is "the present Nubian for the male wild cat"[128] an appropriate name for a tribal leader. The fact that five of eight documented names of the Cushite royal family employ the term Sab in combination with various suffixes tells us that the name was extremely popular within that family. It may even have become a title. If a patronym it might have been passed down for centuries. It is a false "economy of exegesis" to assign every occurrence of this name to the two 25th dynasty kings most familiar to us.

We argue accordingly that the reference to Shabaka as the father of Urdamanie /Rudamon is not convincing evidence that Urdamanie postdates the 25th dynasty king by that name. And were it not for the fact that the Tang-i-Var inscription refers to a Shabataka rather than Shabaka, we would be more inclined than we are to identify the Melukkhan king mentioned in the Tang-I-Var inscription as the father of Rudamon. The time is certainly right.[129] We argue in the appendix that Osorkon III might well have arranged a marriage between the Melukkhan king and his daughter as part of a pact of friendship, or an alliance between himself and his neighbour. The early 7th century was a chaotic time in Egypt. Osorkon needed every ally he could get midst the interdynastic feuding which characterized the time of the great disruption.

We suggest, therefore, that one of the scribes may have made a mistake, whether the annalist who spelled out the name of Sha-ba-ku-u on the Rassam cylinder, or the workman who inscribed Shabataka on the canyon wall at Tang-i-Var. If we are correct in that assumption, the reading "Urdamanie, son of Shabaka" should remain unaltered.

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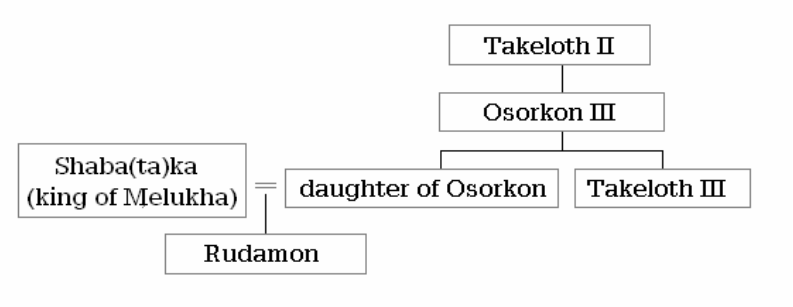
[128] HE III 284

[129] The king of Melukkha in the Tang-i-Var inscription (dated ca.712 B.C.) could have lived well into the 7th century. Perhaps around 690 B.C. he married married a young daughter of prince Osorkon , whose career began in 705 B.C.. The daughter may have been as young as 15. Rudamon, the firstborn of this marriage, would be around 25 years of age in 664 B.C.

Only the identification of Shabaka is changed. The resulting genealogy of Rudamon is diagrammed in figure 19 below.

Figure 19: Expanded Genealogy of Rudamon – Second Possibility



Rudamon, Father of Shabaka

The proposals that šá-ba-ku-u should be re-transcribed nik-pa-ku-u and that it refers to an obscure dignitary named Ankhpakhered, or that Shabaka was the king of a remote Ethiopian country named Melukkha, solves one problem but raises a question. The Rassam cylinder that records this name "is dated in the Assyrian eponymy of Shamash-daninanni"[130], sometime between 644 and 636 B.C. It was inscribed in commemoration of the completion of the rebuilding of the royal palace at Nineveh. How did the scribes at this late date know the intricate family connections of Rudamon, a 23rd dynasty king of apparently little consequence, whom the Assyrian army encountered and defeated in a brief battle 20-30 years earlier? And what purpose was served by including the additional genealogical reference to Shabaka (or Shabataka)? Neither Ankhpakhered nor Shabataka, king of Melukkha were well known outside of Egypt in their lifetimes, much less a half century after their deaths. How would scribes in 636 B.C. know the names of Rudamon's father at this late date? And why would they care to mention him, as if the inclusion of his name explained who Rudamon was? It seems more likely that when the Assyrian annalist mentions a coup attempt by Rudamon and includes a genealogical reference to explain to his audience the identity of this Rudamon, that the reference should be to a name well known to his contemporaries. Thus we argue that Shabaka must have been a significant figure at the time the Rassam cylinder annals were written, and that the Rassam cylinder text might be referring instead to a *son* of Rudamon named Shabaka". Is it possible that "Urdamanie, son of Shabaka" should be translated instead "Urdamanie, father of Shabaka"?

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[130] *Luckenbill Ancient Records* II 290.

Clearly we believe the possibility exists else we would not have mentioned it. But before we argue the case, we should first defend our suggestion that around the year 636 B.C., the date the Rassam cylinder was probably inscribed, the 25th dynasty king Shabaka *was* well known to the Assyrian public. And there is a very good chance that *he was a son of Rudamon*. If so, we should expect to find someday a reference to Rudamon as the father of Shabaka. That it occurs in an Assyrian, rather an Egyptian document, is the only surprising feature of the Rassam cylinder inscription.

Our remarks will necessarily be brief. The historical situation about which we speak is taken up again in chapter four and it occupies our attention in the whole of *Piankhi the Chameleon,* the sequel to the present book. Here we can only summarize aspects of these later developments.

We begin our argument by repeating our previously stated belief that Egypt, in the decades that followed the Assyrian invasion of the country, was governed at any one time by as many as a dozen governor-kings. The districts they administered were essentially the same ones established by Esarhaddon in 671 B.C. This division of the country persisted through to the end of the Assyrian Empire in 612 B.C. and lasted until the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar in 564 B.C.

Furthermore, we reiterate our previous claim that the Assyrian domination of Egypt ended around the year 637 B.C., when a king named Piankhi drove the Assyrians from Egypt and took control of the country. Piankhi displaced the Assyrians, but he left intact the system of local administrator-kings.

Several of the "kings" who governed these administrative districts during the Assyrian occupation, and through the years of Piankhi's domination, were relatives of Rudamon. We have already encountered the name of one of these individuals on a vase inscription that identifies king Rudamon as the father of a king Pefdudubast of Henensuten.[131] Pefdudubast must have ruled in the decades immediately following Rudamon's expulsion from Egypt in 664 B.C.

As late as 617 B.C. a stela erected by Piankhi, describing his suppression of an attempted coup by an administrator-king named Tefnakht, informs us that Egypt remained fragmented into the same political units Piankhi had inherited from the Assyrians. Among the local governors were kings Pefdjuawybast and Iupet, who ruled in the cities of Heracleopolis and Leontopolis respectively. Pefdjuawybast is known to have married a daughter of Rudamon.[132] He is therefore Rudamon's son-in-law. Iupet is considered by many Egyptologists to be Rudamon's main successor in the 23rd dynasty, and as such is identified in the king lists. The implication is that he is a son of Rudamon, though evidence for the claim is lacking. Even the infamous king Piankhi himself was long associated with Rudamon's family. Though the theory is no longer in

[131] See above, p. 91.
[132] TIP 101

favor, there was a time when it was argued that "Rutamen-Meriamen was the father or ancestor of Piankhi" (der vater oder Vorganger von Pianchi war Rutamen-Meriamen).[133] In due time we will show that the early Egyptologists were correct.[134]

The point we are making is that many of the “kings” within Egypt during the 100 years that separated the expulsion of Rudamon in 664 B.C. and the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar in 564 B.C. were sons and relatives of Rudamon. It follows that Shabaka, who ruled around the time of Piankhi, could in theory have also been a son of Rudamon. It was a family affair. Which leads us to our second point.

It is our contention that Shabaka ruled over the district of Memphis for an extended period of time in the middle decades of this century long period. His rule almost certainly began around the time Piankhi displaced the Assyrians as suzerain of Egypt in 637 B.C. It continued minimally through the 617 B.C. date when Piankhi suppressed the rebellion of Tefnakht,[135] He was almost certainly a relative of Piankhi, a fact long acknowledged by Egyptologists. Proof of these facts must await developments in our second book.

As nomarch of the prestigious and powerful region of Memphis, and a relative of Piankhi, Shabaka was one of the most influential of the administrator-kings of Egypt, all of whom, if we believe the Piankhi stele, were subservient to Piankhi. In a moment we will see that around the time of the Tefnakht rebellion Shabaka acted, on behalf of Piankhi, in negotiating a treaty of alliance with the Assyrian king Sinsharishkun. We also believe that twenty years earlier, in 637 B.C., he had assisted Piankhi in wresting control of Egypt from the Assyrians. Some of this we can prove; some we cannot.

Our argument concludes at this point. Assuming that the stated facts are true, we can readily see why an Assyrian scribe, writing in 636 B.C., might refer to Rudamon (who led an unsuccessful coup attempt in Egypt thirty years earlier) as the father of Shabaka, who had assisted in freeing Egypt from Assyrian domination only the year before. Rudamon was unsuccessful and largely forgotten; Shabaka, successful and well known.

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[133] W. Pleyte, "Uber zwei Darstellungen des Gottes Horus-Seth," ZAS 14 (1876) 50

[134] At minimum we will show the likelihood that Piankhi was related by marriage to Osorkon III, the father of Rudamon.

[135] Some astute and knowledgeable reader may enquire why Piankhi did not name Shabaka on his stele, if indeed Shabaka was ruling in Memphis in 617 B.C. We can only hazard an informed guess. We argue momentarily that Shabaka left the country sometime prior to Piankhi’s invasion in order to negotiate conditions of an alliance between Egypt and Assyria, probably at the request of Piankhi. In Shabaka’s absence the nomarch of Sais, named Tefnakht, initiated a rebellion, took over the temporarily vacant administrative district of Memphis, and proceeded to move southward to assume control of the whole of Egypt. It was this rebellion that prompted Piankhi’s response according to Piankhi’s stele. Shabaka was not mentioned because he was absent from Egypt on his diplomatic mission.

With this lengthy but necessary aside, we return to the problem of the Rassam cylinder inscription and suggest that a mistake has been made in either the transcription or the translation of the inscription. The Rassam cylinder does not refer to Rudamon as the son of Shabaka. It identifies him as Shabaka's father. We simply outline the argument. Let others with more time and skill investigate the matter in detail.

That the text should read "Rudamon, father of Shabaka" is a claim properly investigated only by Assyriologists. But even the most casual reader can understand the essential features of the argument. We supply only the essential elements.

When the Assyriologist Rawlinson first transcribed the text from the Rassam cylinder and published his results late in the 19th century, he recorded the relevant passage as "URdamanie DUMU Sha-ba-ku-u" (lit. Rudamon son Shabaka). We have already discussed the four cuneiform signs that produce the name Shabaka. At issue now is the single sign transcribed DUMU. We argue that the sign observed by Rawlinson was instead the ideogram AD.

DUMU is the Sumerian word for "son", used here by the scribe in place of "marum"[136], the common Assyrian word for "son". AD is the Sumerian word meaning "father", often used by Assyrian scribes as an alternate for "abum" (father).[137] There is no problem with the scribe choosing to use a Sumerian ideogram rather that a phonetic spelling of the Assyrian equivalent. He was attempting to condense a lengthy narrative onto a small clay cylinder. What is important for us is determining which of the Sumerian words appears on the cylinder. In the original publication there were no close-up photographs of the text, only a transcription. We are therefore entirely dependent on Rawlinson's eyesight, and to a lesser degree on his integrity. Let me explain.

Assyrian phonetic spellings of words and Sumerian ideograms representing entire verbal ideas were all produced by impressing into clay with a stylus a number of wedge shaped marks in various orientations and combinations that formed a unique sign. The sign represented either a "syllable sound", such as the four which spell out the name of Shabaka, or an "idea", such as "father" or "son" (hence the name "ideogram"), used more often by the Sumerians, who preceded the Assyrians in the Tigris/Euphrates region. Though distinct, these signs can be misread if written in haste by a scribe, or if the clay surface in which they were impressed is damaged over time (a common situation in the case of 2600 year-old tablets). The likelihood of a misreading increases the more closely the signs resemble each other. The reading is also influenced by the expectations of the person examining the tablet. In the case of a damaged or carelessly written sign the reading is often suggested by the context.

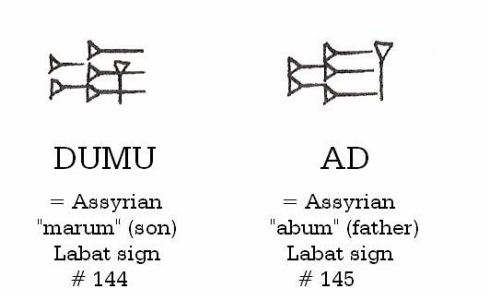
The reader has by now anticipated the balance of our argument. The Sumerian ideograms for DUMU and AD are practically identical. If written carelessly or in haste,

[136] We would expect in this situation to read "mar" , the construct case of "marum".
[137] Again we would expect the construct case "ab".

or if damaged even slightly, they would be practically indistinguishable. We have reproduced in figure 20 the representation of these two signs from one of the standard collations of Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform signs, the *Manuel D'Epigraphie Akkadienne* of Rene Labat. Labat has organized his material systematically, grouping together signs that resemble one another. It is significant therefore that the signs for DUMU and AD are placed in sequence in his book and are numbered 144 and 145 respectively. They differ only in the length and placement of a single vertical wedge.

And there can be no doubt that Rawlinson "expected" to read DUMU rather than AD.

Figure 20: Comparison of Sumerian ideograms DUMU and AD



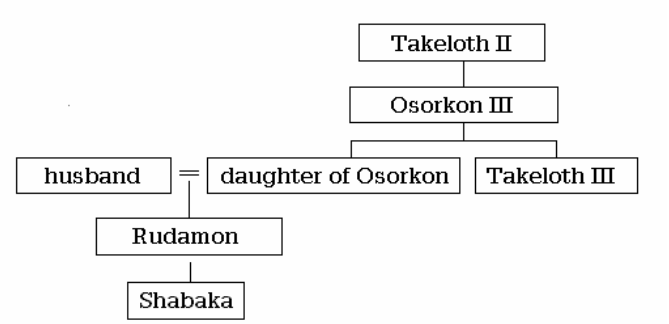
If there were any question about the reading of the sign preceding "Sha-ba-ku-u" on the Rassam cylinder Rawlinson would almost certainly have read DUMU rather than AD. He was well aware that the 25th dynasty king Shabaka lived and ruled in the late 8th century B.C., and that the Urdamanie under consideration was being driven from Egypt by Ashurbanipal early in the 7th century. Under no circumstance could Urdamanie be the father of Shabaka. DUMU was the only conceivable reading of the Assyrian text, regardless of how closely the sign observed by Rawlinson resembled the Sumerian ideogram AD. Thus the reading DUMU.

There is only one way to settle the matter. The Rassam cylinder should be re-examined by a competent and unbiased authority. We leave the matter there.

In our opinion, the text should probably read "Urdamanie AD Sha-ba-ku-u". Time will tell if we are correct. But if so, then the genealogy of Rudamon must be revised yet a third time, as shown in figure 21 below.[138]

[138] Note that this third variation leaves open the question of the identity of the father and mother of Rudamon.

Figure 21: Expanded Genealogy of Rudamon - Third Possibility



In the course of the argument above we mentioned the fact that Shabaka, around the year 617 B.C. was active on behalf of Piankhi in concluding a treaty aligning Egypt with the Assyrians. The Assyrian king at the time was Sinsharishkun, who had succeeded Ashurbanipal a decade earlier, around 628 B.C. We have come full circle. Nabopolassar was threatening Assyria in 617 B.C. In a few years he would attack and ransack Nineveh in league with the Medes, precisely where we began our story in chapter one. Since we have already mentioned the alliance with Assyria, this seems an opportune time to document the evidence of Shabaka's involvement. Any evidence which places Shabaka at the end of the 7th century serves to confirm our revised chronology.

Shabaka's Treaty with Assyria

That Shabaka was a representative of an Egyptian confederacy in league with Assyria has independent confirmation. In his excavation of the palace of Sennacherib in Nineveh in the mid 19th century, Layard stumbled on the remains of a small cache of official documents:[139] He describes how

> "in a chamber, or passage, in the south-west corner of this edifice, were found a large number of pieces of fine clay bearing the impressions of seals which, there is no doubt, had been affixed, like modern official seals of wax, to documents written on leather, papyrus, or parchment. ... The writings themselves had been consumed by fire which destroyed the building or had perished from decay. In the stamped clay, however, may still be seen the holes for the string, or strips of skin, by which the seal was fastened; in some instances the ashes of the string itself remain, with the marks of the fingers and thumb. (Discoveries 153-4)

[139] A.H. Layard, *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (1853), esp. ch. VI. p. 135-161.

Most of the seal impressions were Assyrian. A few were Phoenician and Egyptian.

> But the most remarkable and important of the Egyptian seals are two impressions of a royal signet, which, though imperfect, retain the cartouche, with the name of the king, so as to be perfectly legible. It is one well known to Egyptian scholars, as that of the second Sabaco the Ethiopian, of the twenty-fifth dynasty. On the same piece of clay is impressed an Assyrian seal, with a device representing a priest ministering before the king, probably a royal signet (Discoveries 156)

Layard was wrong on one point. The seal impression is that of Shabaka, the first, not the second of the two 25th dynasty kings of like name. Shabataka was the second. These seal inscriptions were interpreted as an indication of a treaty between Egypt and Assyria:

> It would seem that a peace having been concluded between the Egyptians and one of the Assyrian monarchs, probably Sennacherib, the royal signets of the two kings, thus found together, were attached to the treaty, which was deposited amongst the archives of the kingdom. Whilst the document itself, written upon parchment or papyri, has completely perished, this singular proof of the alliance, if not actual meeting, of the two monarchs is still preserved amidst the remains of the state papers of the Assyrian empire; furnishing one of the most remarkable instances of confirmatory evidence on record. (Discoveries 159)

The seal of Shabaka is indeed evidence of an alliance between Assyria and Egypt. But the alliance was not between Sennacherib and Shabaka. Sennacherib began his reign in 705 B.C. He did not sign a treaty with Shabaka whose rule ended around 702 B.C. in the traditional history, or in the time frame 712-706 B.C. if we accept the evidence from Tang-i-Var discussed earlier. Even if we were not aware precisely when Shabaka died, we would have insisted that no treaty was ever signed between Assyria and Egypt around that time. The two countries were antagonists throughout the last decade of the 8th century and for decades beyond. Besides, the Kouyunjik palace built by Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) in the northern sector of Nineveh was not completed until early in the 7th century, years after the death of Shabaka. Ashurbanipal occupied it early in his reign till that king built his own palace further south in Nineveh. Shabaka's treaty must postdate the completion of the Kouyunjik palace, where the Shabaka seal impressions were found. It almost certainly originates from late in the reign of Ashurbanipal, and more likely during the reign of Sinsharishkun, in the final days before the fall of the Empire (612 B.C.).

In support of this last statement we note that Assyrian treaties were typically written in cuneiform on clay, not on parchment. Some exceptional circumstance must exist to explain an agreement recorded in this atypical medium. There is no evidence of an accord between Assyria and Egypt in the entire span of the reigns of kings Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. But an alliance was formed in the reign of Sinsharishkun. We began our first chapter documenting the results of that alliance. The treaty with

Shabaka must date to the reign of Sinsharishkun, and only shortly before the fall of the Assyrian kingdom. The fact that the document was found in a corridor or chamber, not in the state archives, and that it was burnt, suggests a time not long preceding the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C. And since the Babylonian Chronicle places an Egyptian army on the upper Euphrates in 616 B.C., acting in league with the Assyrians against Babylon, the treaty was most likely concluded the year before, thus in 617 B.C. This was, of course, the time of the Tefnakht rebellion.

This concludes our discussion of the 22nd-23rd dynasties. We have argued our case. The 25th dynasty has been dislodged from its errant position preceding the Assyrian invasion. The 22nd/23rd dynasties have filled the void. Taharka has been removed from the early 7th century where he does not belong. There remains the problem of identifying his true historical context. For this we will need the entire chapter following. But first we pause to reflect on the accuracy of our revision thus far.

Pause for Reflection

The seemingly arbitrary reduction of 22nd/23rd dynasty dates by 121 years has fared remarkably well. Its immediate consequence was the lowering of dates for Osorkon II, Takeloth II, Sheshonk III and Pedubast I, positioning these kings in the late 8th and early 7th centuries, precisely where they belong according to an abundance of inscriptional evidence from well dated Phoenician sites. The resulting dates for Takeloth II, Takeloth III, and Rudamon place these kings precisely opposite their biblical and Assyrian namesakes, Tirhakah, Tarqu, and Urdamanie. In the case of Takeloth III/Tarqu and Rudamon/Urdamanie the correspondence was so remarkable that it could not be improved were we given liberty to emend dates and data at will.

The revision also supplies answers to a wide assortment of problems that have occupied the attention of scholars for centuries. It confirms the identity of pharaoh So, explains why Tirhakah could be called "king of Cush" in 701 B.C., and supplies the date and probable cause of the extermination of Sennacherib's army. We now know the meaning of the sky not devouring the moon in the annals of prince Osorkon, why Ashurbanipal employed 22nd dynasty kings and dignitaries to administer the Assyrian province of Egypt, why Esarhaddon treasured a vase inscribed with the name of the 22nd dynasty prince Takeloth son of Tentsai, and why Egyptologists are unable to find the tomb of the 22nd dynasty prince Wasneterra Sheshonk, nor any inscriptional evidence proving the existence of a 25th dynasty prince Ushanahuru. The origins of the fragmented kingdom in the days of Piankhi can now be traced to the division of administrative power under Esarhaddon. The absence of any Assyrian reference to the loss of Egypt through most of the lifetime of Ashurbanipal is equally comprehensible. Egypt remained until 637 B.C. a vassal state of Assyria.

Seemingly trivial details of 23rd dynasty history suddenly become significant - why

Takeloth III reigned such a short time, why he was succeeded by a nephew, and not by a son, why there are so few monumental remains from the reign of Rudamon, and why Rudamon's genealogy is traced through his royal mother to his grandfather Osorkon III.

The seemingly arbitrary displacement of the chronologies of dynasties 22 and 23 by 121 years should have resulted immediately in multiple irresolvable conflicts. Is it mere coincidence that it does precisely the opposite?

We are at least encouraged to continue.

Chapter 4 Invasion & Exile 570-543 B.C.

Rudamon to Shabataka

In 664 B.C. Ashurbanipal drove Rudamon, grandson of Osorkon III and nephew of Takeloth III, out of Thebes, presumably into Nubia. We assume he lived out his life in Nubia.[140]

In 570 B.C. Taharka, the terminal 25th dynasty king, began his reign after the death of his brother Shabataka. This date is calculated by reducing his traditional dates by 121 years. In his seventh year (564 B.C.) he was driven from Egypt into Nubia where he remained until his death in 543 B.C.

The occupants of Egypt during the 100 years between the expulsions of Rudamon and Taharka are not the particular concern of this book. The purpose of our discussion here is to prove the historicity of the Egyptian exile, not to rewrite 25th dynasty history. But since Shabaka and Piankhi have already entered the picture some discussion of the 25th (Cushite) dynasty is inevitable. More will be said in the second book of our series, which is concerned exclusively with the history of the 7th and early 6th centuries.

Before we discuss the 25th dynasty we repeat our claim, made several times already, that Assyria retained its suzerainty over Egypt until 637 B.C., the 1st year of Piankhi. This opinion, which must remain undefended for the time being, is more than a common sense deduction. In our second book we will examine an inscription in which Piankhi documents the event. Meanwhile we depend on circumstantial evidence. The Assyrian annals, written as late as 636 B.C., provide no explicit statement indicating that Assyria has been expelled from Egypt, but the analyst seems to be familiar with the name of Shabaka. If our previous argument is correct, and Shabaka assisted Piankhi in expelling the Assyrians, this suggests that Egypt has only recently been lost. The fact that Piankhi dates his regnal years from 637 B.C. further suggests that the takeover of Egypt was a *fait accompli* by that date.

We assume therefore that the Assyrian domination of Egypt, following the expulsion of Rudamon, lasted 27 years (664-637 B.C.) The 25th dynasty ruled for the balance of the 100 year period under discussion, ending with the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar, thus for 73 years (637-564 B.C.) Our focus in this chapter lies almost exclusively on the last six years, i.e. the first six years of the reign of Taharka (569-564 B.C.). We will do no more than itemize the salient points concerning the reigns of Piankhi, Shabaka, and Shabataka

1) We begin by repeating, for the record, the revised dates for the 25th dynasty kings diagrammed earlier. These will change marginally as new information is added, here and in the sequel to this book.

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[140] We must leave as an open question whether Urdamanie/Rudamon returned to Egypt soon after being driven from the country, or whether he continued to reside somewhere in Nubia.

Table 9: Revised Dates for the 25th Dynasty Kings

Name	Traditional History	Revised History[141]
Piankhi		637-597 B.C.
Piankhi invasion	738 B.C.[142]	617 B.C.
Shabaka	721-706 B.C.	600-585 B.C.
Shabataka	706-690 B.C.	585-569 B.C.
Taharka (within Egypt)	690-664 B.C.	569-564 B.C.
Taharka (in Nubia)		564-543 B.C.

2) Egypt was throughout this period fragmented in much the same way as described in the Assyrian annals. Petrie's comment earlier[143] suggested as much. Piankhi expelled the Assyrians, but he left intact the system of administrator-kings.

3) Piankhi is known to have reigned at least 40 years. This would date his reign, minimally, in the years 637-597 B.C. That reign length will ultimately be increased, but this development must await the book that bears his name. Later in life Piankhi became less active, both politically and militarily. Increasingly the administrator-kings were summoned to assist in military actions. Their autonomy increased. Ultimately they acted independently of their Cushite overlord, and began to date their monuments

[141] The revised dates were provided earlier and were diagrammed in figure 17 on page 96.

[142] Note that the traditional history provides no date for the beginning of Piankhi's rule in Egypt. The great Piankhi stela provides the only known information about this king, namely, that he invaded Egypt to suppress a rebellion led by the nomarch Tefnakht from Sais. This invasion took place in his 21st year. The traditional history assumes that these 20 earlier years relate to Piankhi's rule in Nubia, not in Egypt. Whether Piankhi had control of Egypt prior to his invasion is seldom discussed, though the stela clearly indicates that he did, and this revision proceeds on the assumption that his regnal years began with his expulsion of the Assyrians. The dates for Piankhi are derived from Aston ("Takeloth II – A King of the 'Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty'?, JEA 75 (1989) 139-153) who dates the Tefnakht incident around 740/735 B.C. For purposes of this revision a median date (738 B.C.) is used, as earlier for all of Aston's dates. Subtracting 121 years placed Piankhi's invasion in 617 B.C. in the revised history. According to Kitchen "the one generally-accepted year-date of Piankhi is Year 21 on his great stela." (TIP 123) If the invasion occurred in Piankhi's 21st year his reign must have begun c.a. 637 B.C. This date must be accurate within a few years. We have already used the date several times in our discussion in chapter three.

[143] For Petrie see above, p. 84. Cf. the earlier discussion of this subject on p. 101

accordingly.

4) The genealogy of Shabaka must remain an open question. But whether or not he was a son of Rudamon he must have been born in Nubia, perhaps shortly after the expulsion of Rudamon from Egypt. The fact that he was ultimately buried in Napata suggests that this was his home. Perhaps he was summoned by Piankhi to assist in the expulsion of the Assyrians, bringing with him a contingent of the Nubian army

5) If Shabaka was the son of Rudamon and if he did assist Piankhi expel the Assyrians, multiple conclusions follow naturally. Following the 637 B.C. coup Shabaka must have remained in Egypt. He was probably installed as governor-king in Memphis by Piankhi, and as the most influential of the nomarchs (due to the prominence of Memphis and his family connection with Piankhi) became the *de facto* ruler of the north of Egypt. Thus Manetho credits him with founding a dynasty. But in fact, as a successor to Rudamon, along with other relatives of that king, he was merely perpetuating the 23rd dynasty.

6) In the traditional history Shabaka ruled only 15 years, or thereabouts. When we lowered his traditional dates, the revised dates fell at the beginning of the 6th century (see figure 17 and table 9). But if he did assist Piankhi in 637 B.C. and subsequently began to reign in Memphis, his dates must be extended back an additional 37 years. His reign length must have been an impressive 52 years. His dates (637-585 B.C.) parallel those of Piankhi. We wonder at the relatively few monuments that bear his name. A partial explanation can be found in the fact that for much of his “reign” he was a nomarch and army commander, not a pharaoh. There are other factors involved.

7) The military activity and lengthy reign of Shabaka has some documentary support. Herodotus claims "Egypt was invaded by Sabacos king of Ethiopia and a great army of Ethiopians" following which "the Ethiopians ruled Egypt for fifty years."[144] The "fifty years" must preserve the memory of Shabaka's extensive involvement in Egyptian affairs. But according to our version of history he ruled in conjunction with and subservient to Piankhi, and in a country fragmented into multiple political units. In modern terminology we would refer to Pefdjuawybast, Iuput, and Shabaka as nomarchs, rulers of quasi-independent states (nomes) within an Egyptian confederacy, at least from 637 through 600 B.C. In the next book of our series, which deals exclusively with the time period in question, we will flesh out the political situation that existed. Needless to say many surprises will emerge from our research.

8) At some stage in the life of the aging Piankhi, Shabaka became independent of his relative. He must have begun erecting and dating monuments from this point in time. We can’t be far wrong in assuming this took place around 600 B.C. If Shabaka's emergence as pharaoh dates to this year, then the dates we have assigned to his independent reign (600-585 B.C.) must be reasonably accurate. They agree substantially with Manetho who credits him with 8 (Africanus) or 12 regnal years (Eusebius).

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[144] Her. II.137.1

9) The fact that Shabaka's rule in Egypt lasted as late as 585 B.C. has independent corroboration. According to the monuments he had two throne names - Wahibre, and Neferibre.[145] In chapter one we quoted Jeremiah's prediction that the unnatural death or deposition of pharaoh Wahibre (Hophra) would be a sign to the Judaean exiles that Nebuchadrezzar would invade Egypt. Those comments were likely made soon after the 586 B.C. fall of Jerusalem and subsequent flight to Egypt of the refugees, very likely in 585 B.C. We assume that the prophecy received immediate authentication.[146]

10) Piankhi and Shabaka were clearly of the same generation. In the traditional history they are considered to be brothers, or possibly father and son. Both possibilities remains, but only if we set aside the genealogy that makes Shabaka the son of Rudamon. That, in turn, would affect some of the dates and much of the discussion above. The question must remain open. It will be raised again in *Piankhi the Chameleon,* but only after the genealogy of Piankhi is developed. Assuming instead that Piankhi and Shabaka are only distantly related, and that the term "25th dynasty" should be used only in reference to the sequence of kings Shabaka, Shabataka, Taharka, and their near relatives, then technically Piankhi is not a 25th dynasty king. For the time being, however, we will continue to include him with this dynasty in keeping with the practice of the current generation of scholars. However, this does raise an intriguing question. If Piankhi is not a 25th dynasty king, then to what dynasty did he belong? And why does Manetho not mention him?

11) The dates for Piankhi and Shabaka, and the presence of Shabaka's seals in the ruins of the Kouyunyik palace in Nineveh, suggest that both kings were involved in the wars with Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar as described in the Babylonian Chronicle. One of these kings must be identified as the pharaoh Necho who is responsible for the death of Josiah, king of Judah. In due time we will explain the origins of the name Necho.

12) Shabataka reigned immediately after Shabaka and prior to Taharka. We have assigned him the dates 585-570 B.C. This agrees favorably with Manetho who assigns him either 12 or 14 years, though his year three is the highest known from the monuments. Early in his reign Shabataka is known to have summoned his brother

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[145] Wahibre as an alternate throne name of Shabaka is based on the presence of the alternating throne names Neferkare and Wahibre on a cornice-fragment from Athribis and a sistrum-handle from Bubastis. Kitchen considers this as evidence of "an association between local kings", neither of which was Shabaka. However, he does admit the possibility of the alternate prenomen hypothesis. (TIP 124) If Wahibre was a king other than but contemporary with Shabaka it follows that this Wahibre rather than Shabaka was the victim of the civil strife of 585 B.C. The biblical prophecy must relate to this unknown king. Of some interest is the fact that the prenomen of Pefdjuawybast was Neferkare. Since Shabaka was a contemporary of this king we wonder if the name Neferkare refers to Pefdjuawybast and Wahibre to Shabaka.

[146] Apparently Ezekiel's reference was to Shabaka, not the 26th dynasty king Wahibre Ha'a'ibre (Apries). One by one the pillars that support the errant traditional history come down. Most are illusory correspondences of name and date.

Taharka to assist him in warding off some unknown threat to Egypt. In 585 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar was at the doorstep of Egypt. An invasion was a distinct possibility. Instead Nebuchadrezzar invested Tyre. The siege was prolonged due to the inaccessibility of the city. The invasion of Egypt was delayed. By the time it came, Taharka had succeeded his brother.

13) Taharka's kingship lasted from 569-543 B.C., but only from 569-564 B.C. was he resident in Egypt. Late in his 6th year he was driven from the Nile delta into the desert by the army of Nebuchadrezzar. He found his way to Thebes. Early in his seventh year he fled from Thebes into Nubia. Even there he was not safe. He died in exile. Egypt, during the final two decades of Taharka's life, had no resident king and a sparse population. Babylonian garrisons policed the country. The balance of this chapter provides documentation supporting these claims.

Taharka the Conqueror

Two series of 20th century excavations significantly influenced the current conception of the Ethiopian 25th dynasty. The first were those at Napata and vicinity, conducted by the Harvard Exploration Society under Reisner in the early years of the 20th century.[147] From the town site itself and from the associated cemeteries at Barkal, Kurru and Nuri, came considerable inscriptional material. More significant for the present discussion were the excavations at Kawa, north of Napata, in 1930-31, conducted by F. Ll. Griffith on behalf of Oxford University.[148] This site provided a wealth of information related to Taharka, the primary builder at the site. Of particular interest are a series of inscriptions that reveal details of the first ten years of his reign. Since we are compelled to date Taharka’s reign in the years 569-543 B.C., and the Babylonian invasion around 564 B.C., in Taharka’s 6th year, these first ten years are critically important.

Our attention throughout this section is focused primarily on four stelae inscriptions from Kawa, numbered III-VI by MacAdam. They relate to the years 2-8 (III), 6 (IV), 6 (V), and 8-10 (VI) of Taharka. Though primarily concerned with the construction and furnishing of a temple at the site of Kawa, these stelae are highly informative on other relevant matters. In the next few sections of this chapter we examine the inscriptions for evidence 1) that Taharka was militarily active in those regions of the Near East where he might antagonize Nebuchadnezzar and invite retaliation; 2) that Taharka's 6th year

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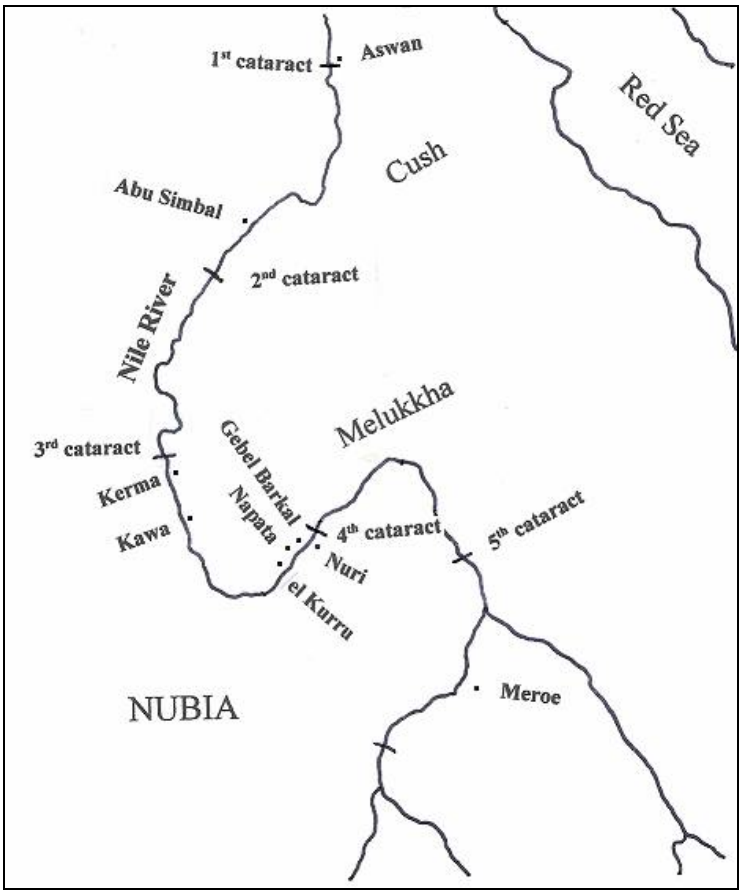
[147] For a summary of the results of this work and a complete bibliography of earlier publications cf. G.A. Reisner, "The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: A Chronological Outline," JEA 9 (1923) 34-77.

[148] F. Ll. Griffith died shortly after these excavations were completed. The editing and publication of the results with commentary were left to his associate M.F. Laming MacAdam. They appear in *The Temples of Kawa I. The Inscriptions (2 vols.)* (1949).

witnessed an unusually high Nile during which "no foot of man or beast" could move within Egypt, and 3) that Taharka lost possession of Egypt and temporarily of Kawa itself shortly after this high Nile.

Figure 22: Map of Cush/Melukkha (7th Century B.C.)



Taharka's Empire

One stela from Kawa tells us that a youthful Taharka, at the time resident in Nubia, was summoned to Egypt by his brother Shabataka. En route he passed by the site of Kawa (ancient Gempaten) (IV:7-9), accompanied by "the army of His Majesty" (IV:10). In the

traditional history this incident has only one reasonable explanation. Auxiliary forces are being summoned by Shabataka to assist Hezekiah and relieve Jerusalem, at the time under siege by Sennacherib. The year would be 701 B.C. Since Taharka did not become king until 690 B.C., the assumption is made that he acted as General of the Army for at least these 11 years.

In the revised history Taharka is also bringing auxiliary forces to assist the Egyptian army at the request of Shabataka. But the threat is from Nebuchadrezzar. We don't know the precise year, though it must lie in the interval 585-569 B.C. We do know that Taharka was twenty years old when he left Nubia (V:17). It follows that his military career under the authority of his brother might have lasted a few years or over a decade. Some indeterminate time after Taharka's arrival in Lower Egypt, Shabataka died and Taharka assumed the throne. In his own words:

> I came from Nubia in the company of the King's brothers, whom His Majesty had summoned, that I might be there with him, since he loved me more than all his brethren and all his children, and I was preferred to them by His Majesty, for I received the crown in Memphis after the Hawk (= Shabataka) had soared to heaven, and my father Amun commanded me to place every land and country beneath my feet, southward to Retehu-Qabet, northward to Qebh-Hor, eastward to the rising of the sun and westward to its setting. (V:13-16)

Taharka, at the outset of his reign, claims sovereignty over extensive territory eastward from the Egyptian border. This would imply that in the years in which he assisted Shabataka, or immediately after assuming the kingship, he was engaged in aggressive military activity in those regions he boasts of possessing. The passage quoted gives the impression that his influence extended at least as far as the Euphrates. This is hardly surprising. For decades there has been a contest between Babylon and Egypt for control of the eastern Mediterranean coastal area, including Israel, Phoenicia, and Syria north to the Euphrates. Around 609 B.C. Egyptians armies were active in the highlands of the Upper Euphrates, allied with the Assyrians in their struggle against the ascendant power of Babylon. In 605 B.C. the two nations engaged in battle at Carchemish on the Euphrates. Skirmishes in Syria were frequent. The kings of Judah from Josiah through Zedekiah, in the years 609-586 B.C., were all pawns in this power struggle between Babylon and Egypt. In the traditional history the opponents of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar are identified as the Saite dynasty kings Nechao, Psamtik II, and Apries. With the dynasties correctly positioned it is Piankhi, Shabaka, Shabataka and Taharka who contested with Babylon.

For most of his reign of 42 years Nebuchadrezzar (605-562 B.C.) prevailed in this struggle. But the Hebrew Bible informs us that he experienced a mental breakdown late in his life. His recovery took seven years, time enough for Egypt to reassert itself. In chapter one we dated Nebuchadrezzar's mania to the years 572-566 B.C., spanning the last few years of Shabataka and the first four years of Taharka's kingship. Taharka's boast is therefore well founded. First as military commander under his brother, then as

king, he re-established Egyptian sovereignty "over every land and country" eastward to the Euphrates and beyond into northern Mesopotamia, "to the rising of the sun". While Nebuchadrezzar languished in Babylon during his "mania", Egypt recovered the Assyrian domains of her former ally. It is not surprising that Nebuchadrezzar reacted in anger when his illness subsided.

But lest we be accused of reading too much into one boastful phrase, we should add that we are not speculating. Taharka has left a record of his military activity. It is not widely publicized, and where it is mentioned Egyptologists immediately discount it. The reader by now understands why. Taharka has been wrongly placed in an historical context 121 years too early, in the time of the powerful neo-Assyrian empire, coterminous with its most energetic and successful kings - Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. Their detailed annals record no expansionist activity on Egypt's part, save for a possible political association with Phoenicia. But Taharka's claim is much more comprehensive.

Two inscriptions in particular add substance to Taharka's boast. Both are quickly glossed over and negatively evaluated by Flinders Petrie in his popular *History of Egypt*:

> On the extent of Taharqa's power in Palestine we cannot judge. On his list of conquered towns, found in the great court of Karnak, he claims much of Palestine; but this list is a mere copy of Seti. Again, on his statuette is a long list of captured cities (MK 45a); but this is only a copy - with a few blunders - of the list on the colossus of Ramessu II (MK 38f) and Taharqa was as much ruler of Qedesh and Naharaina as George II was king of France, though officially so called. HE III 297

Petrie is not the only scholar who makes light of Taharka's lists of conquered territory. An equally colourful put down is provided by E.A. Wallis Budge, who scornfully describes how Taharka, "in commemoration of a campaign which he did not fight, in a country which he never entered", caused "a list of great peoples of Syria and Palestine to be cut on the base of his statue as nations which he had conquered." "In this list," according to Budge, "we find the names of Kadesh, Assur, Kheta, Neherin, and of many other Western Asiatic places together with the names of several districts of the Sudan."[149] It is the opinion of Budge that Taharka's boast was mere pretence.

These two sources - a wall inscription in the forecourt of the Amon temple in Karnak and a statue inscription from the temple of Mut[150] - specifically list Kadesh, Naharina (or Naharain), Hatti (Kheta) and Assur (Ashur) among the possessions of Taharka. Carchemish is included in the list. Kadesh is located on the Orontes River in northern Syria and Naharain is a common designation for the land mass bordering the western bend of the Euphrates on the east. Kheta must be the Hatti lands, a reference to northern

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[149] E.A. Wallis Budge, The Egyptian Sudan (1907) New Impression (1986) 2 vols. II 37-38

[150] For bibliography cf. J. Leclant, *Recherches sur Les Monuments Thebains de la XXVe Dynastie Dite Ethiopienne* (1965), D,1 p. 116

Syria. Carchemish is on the Euphrates itself. Petrie is correct. Taharka could not have controlled those territories in 690 B.C. Egypt was closeted in its own land by Esarhaddon.

If the conquest of Kadesh, the Hatti lands, Carchemish, and Naharain was unlikely, that of Assur was impossible. Assur, in the traditional history, can refer here only to the Assyrian homeland, ruled by Esarhaddon, then Ashurbanipal. Under no circumstance could Taharka have conquered Naharain and Assur in the days of the powerful Assyrian Empire. No wonder Egyptologists are in denial.

Taharka's claim to rule Assur in 690 B.C. could be safely discounted, but the identical claim in 572-566 B.C., during Nebuchadrezzar's mania, is another story. The Assyrian Empire has by this date run its course, though the land maintained its traditional name. After the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C. Assur became a Babylonian province. Taharka's army could conceivably have ventured to the northern edge of Babylonia, establishing a symbolic presence in the homeland of its former ally.

The presence of several statues of Taharka, found in 1955 in the ruins of Nineveh, argue strongly that Taharka actually set up a temporary base of operations in the former Assyrian capital.[151] Further confirmation is provided by a fragment of a Babylonian religious text that records military activity involving an Egyptian army. The heavily damaged fragment is dated in the 37th year of Nebuchadrezzar, thus in 568 B.C. The nature and provenance of the activity is unknown but the inscription is consistent with the presence of Taharka in the upper Tigris/Euphrates area.[152]

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[151] The first published reports indicate the presence of two damaged statues with multiple inscriptional fragments; cf. the correspondence by Simpson [Sumer 10 (1954)193-4], Naji al Asil [Sumer 11 (1955) 3-4; 129-30] and the article by Vladimir Vikentiev, "Quelques Considerations A Propos Des Statues De Taharqa Trouvees Dans Les Ruines Du Palais D'Esarhaddon" Sumer 11 (1955) 111-114. Commenting on one of these fragments Spalinger states: "The object appears to describe the goddess Anukis, usually associated with Elephantine, as being connected with a foreign locality. Unfortunately, the hieroglyphics cannot be interpreted and it is best not to hazard a conclusion too rashly." CdE 53 (1978) 28.

[152] The 37th year of Nebuchadrezzar is 568/7 B.C., several years into the reign of Amasis in the traditional history. Based almost solely on this correspondence in date this cuneiform inscription is typically interpreted as pertaining to a military conflict between Nebuchadrezzar and Amasis, perhaps even to an aborted invasion of Egypt, the very invasion anticipated by Ezekiel and Jeremiah.. The only support for this view is the presence of the phrase "... [...[-a?-su, of Egypt" [ANET 308] in the text. To identify this badly damaged inscription with Amasis we must assume that Amasis name written in Akkadian would end in "-asu", that the "a" in "-asu" is actually in the text, and that the partially visible word is a king's name. Then we must assume the facts of the traditional history which make Amasis a contemporary of Nebuchadrezzar. It is all very hypothetical. Even if we agree with Edel [GM 29 (1978) 14-15] that the phrase "of Egypt" should be read "king of Egypt" there is nothing to indicate that the word which preceded is a king's name. It has recently been determined that the place name Putuiaman in the text refers to Cyrene and not to an Egyptian town of that name invaded by Nebuchadrezzar and that Cyrene and the Egyptian

While scholars are in general agreement in rejecting Taharka's claims to foreign conquests, they are less than consistent in the specifics of their criticism. Gauthier[153] agrees with Petrie that the statuette inscription was copied from an ancient list of Ramses II. Leclant[154] is of the opinion that it was copied from an inscription of Horemheb. Leclant declines comment on the wall inscription from the Karnak forecourt. Since the Karnak list was no longer visible in 1965, the date of his comprehensive collection of 25th dynasty Theban monuments, he argues against Maspero and Petrie that it ever existed. He suggests instead that these notable 19th century Egyptologists, who actually read the inscription, mistakenly ascribed to Taharka another list left by the Ptolemies centuries later.[155] We understand the divergence of opinion. If the wall inscription did not exist we are spared the necessity of explaining its content.

On at least one point the scholars agreed - Taharka did not rule an empire that included Kadesh, the Hatti lands, Carchemish, Naharain, and Assur.

But discounting these two inscriptions does not eliminate the problem. They are not the only evidence of Taharka's widespread conquests. There has existed since classical times unequivocal testimony to Taharka's military prowess. Commenting on this tradition Budge has observed:

> There must have been something attractive in his (Taharka's) personality, and his deeds appealed so strongly to the popular imagination, at all events in Greek times, that they were regarded as the exploits of a hero, and he had the reputation of being a great traveller as well as a great conqueror.[156]

The reference cited by Budge is to Strabo, who, following Megasthenes, includes Taharka among a list of history's great conquerors. But Budge's explanation begs the question. Legends must have some historical foundation. The memory that passed into folklore was of military conquest. And the Taharka of the traditional history at most rallied a group of delta kinglets to rebel against a small Assyrian occupation force. And in that action he was thoroughly defeated. Of such deeds legends are not made.

Leclant, endeavouring to explain the legend of Taharka the conqueror, can do no better than Budge. He discounts the possibility, entertained by some critics, that the legend was initiated by Taharka himself, through the publication of fictitious claims such as that contained on the statue cited above. He argues, correctly, that the statue inscription was

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localities mentioned are places from which the Egyptian king is raising his troops. [cf. Anthony Leahy, "The Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis and the End of the Reign of Apries," JEA 74 (1988) 191].

[153] Gauthier, *Le Livres des Rois de l'Egypte* V 36 n.3.

[154] J. Leclant, *Recherches*, p. 351

[155] Ibid., p. 14.

[156] Budge, The Egyptian Sudan, p. 41.

not intended as propaganda, since it was hidden away in the interior of the temple of Mut, where it would have limited exposure. Instead he argues that Taharka has become a celebrated conqueror only because his name emerged as a symbolic representative of the combined military exploits of all the 25th dynasty pharaohs. Other explanations are equally strained.[157]

We suggest a better reason. Taharka was renowned as a great conqueror because he was a great conqueror. Granted, he benefited from Nebuchadrezzar's incapacity, but his domains, though short lived, were extensive. His inscriptions should be taken at face value. Why copy a list of conquered territories, knowingly false, only to bury them in a temple? Leclant's argument is well founded, but Leclant has missed the point.

The Great Flood

By 566 B.C. or 565 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar's illness passed. The prophet Daniel preserves a record of the king's reaction:

> At the same time that my sanity was restored, my honour and splendor were returned to me for the glory of my kingdom. My advisers and nobles sought me out, and I was restored to my throne and became even greater than before. Dan. 4:36

Within a year Nebuchadrezzar had re-established the borders of his former kingdom and prepared to avenge the humiliation suffered during his dementia. He prepared to invade Egypt. If our chronology is correct it was the summer of 564 B.C., the sixth year of Taharka's reign. Egypt was in flood.

In chapter one we quoted Ezekiel 29:11 as a reference to a Nile flood which preceded immediately the invasion of Egypt. "There will not pass over it a man's foot nor will any animal's foot pass over it; then, no one will inhabit it for forty years." If we are correct in our revision, there should be reference to a Nile flood of unusual dimensions in Taharka's sixth year. We are not disappointed.

For well over two hundred years records of inundation levels of the Nile were engraved periodically on the quay of the Karnak temple in Thebes. Legrain documented the forty-five inscriptions preserved on the quay late in the 19th century and Von Beckerath diagrammed their positions a half century later.[158] Of the recorded positions two stand

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[157] G. Goossens, "Taharqa le conquerant," CdE 22 (1941) 244 suggests that though Taharqa did not intend to misrepresent himself to later generations (his pretended conquests were intended only to ingratiate himself to the gods in the temples), inscriptions such as the statuette inscription were taken factually by later generations.

[158] G. Legrain, "Textes graves sur le quai de Karnak," ZAS 34 (1896) 111-121; Jurgen Von

out above the rest. The second highest level occurred in the 3rd year of Osorkon II; the highest in the 6th year of Taharka.

The inscription recording the flood in the 3rd year of Osorkon merely records the king's name and the Nile level. But the flood of that year is also described in a hieratic inscription recorded on the inner wall, in the northwest corner of the hypostyle of the Luxor temple. It is a vivid reminder of the power and expansiveness of such a high flood:

> Year 3, first month of the second season, day 12, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnamon, L.P.H.: Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Osorkon (II)-Siese-Meriamon, given life forever. The flood came on, in this whole land; it invaded the two shores as in the beginning. This land was in his power like the sea, there was no dyke of the people to withstand its fury. All the people were like birds upon its [-], the tempest - his -, suspended - - like the heavens. All the temples of Thebes were like marshes. BAR IV 743

If Osorkon's flood was able to overrun the containing dikes and make islands of the temple sites, flooding the entire Nile valley, then that same situation must prevail in the even higher flood of Taharka's 6th year. Taharka's flood, like that of Osorkon 150 years earlier, was also sufficiently memorable to warrant inscriptional comment. The details are contained on one of the stela inscriptions from Kawa.

> Wonders have come to pass in the time of His Majesty in the sixth year of his reign, the like whereof had not been seen since the time of those of old, so great did his father Amon Re' love him. His Majesty had been praying for an inundation from his father Amon-Re', Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, in order to prevent famine happening in his time. Now everything that issues through the lips of His Majesty, his father Amun grants it to happen forthwith, and when the season came for the flooding of the inundation it continued flooding abundantly each day and spent many days rising at a rate of one cubit every day. It penetrated the hills of Upper Egypt, it overtopped the mounds of Lower Egypt, and the land became a primordial ocean, an inert expanse, and there was no distinguishing the land from the river. It flooded to a height of 21 cubits, 1 palm and 2½ fingers at the quay of Thebes. His Majesty had the annals of the ancestors brought to him, in order to see the (kind of) inundation that had happened in their times, but the like thereof was not found there. Moreover the sky rained in Nubia, it made all the hills glisten. Every man of Nubia had abundance in everything, Egypt was in happy festival ... (V:5-9)

Beckerath, "The Nile Level Records at Karnak and their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period," JARCE 5 (1966) 43-55.

Taharka took the flood as an indication of Amun's favor. It was instead a sign of the imminent loss of his Egyptian kingdom. The Nile floods typically from June through August. Soon after the Nile subsided, Nebuchadrezzar invaded.

Taharka's Lament

We assume that by the time of the great Nile flood of 564 B.C. the upper Euphrates and the trans-Euphrates Hatti lands had been lost to Taharka, whose domains were by now restricted to the eastern Mediterranean coast, Syria and Lebanon, the territory known on the monuments as Khor. In the few months immediately following the flood, possibly in late August or September of 564 B.C., the army of Nebuchadnezzar moved toward Egypt. Khor was lost and Egypt was invaded. Memory of the ensuing holocaust is preserved in the writings of Ezekiel and Jeremiah. Egyptian scribes, who might have preserved the memory of the event in Egypt, were removed into captivity. Taharka, driven from Memphis into the desert, ultimately made his way to Thebes. Meanwhile, Nebuchadnezzar consolidated his position. The Babylonian king was a seasoned military strategist. The four hundred mile journey of conquest upriver to Thebes was not to be hazarded without due preparation. The battle would be resumed months later. Meanwhile Taharka rested in Thebes, his spirit broken. In a lengthy inscription he lamented his loss.

Within the temple of Amon in Thebes, on the back of a wall attributed to Thutmose III, Taharka hastily composed an inscription, both penitent and pleading. The wall inscription, intact in the days of Lepsius, now broken apart, was pieced together and retranslated recently by Vernus.[159] It is a most unusual text. According to Spalinger:

> From the first fifteen columns of the text, all that can be determined is that Taharqa contemplates a future action owing to some failure of his in the past. Future events are predicted: "You will repulse for me..." (col. 14) and "... the lands (??) which do not belong to me, place them under my domination" (col. 10) A two-fold logical reasoning can be determined from this poetical speech of Taharqa. A plan of his did not succeed as something went wrong. Amun cannot be (at) fault as he is good; therefore, it is the deed itself which was evil. ... Secondly, since the plans failed Amun must take charge in order to insure an eventual success. Hence, the passages: "... it is you who give the orders..." (col. 19) and "O Amun, there is no bad action in doing what you have done concerning he who will..." (col. 21)[160]

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[159] Pascal Vernus, "Inscriptions de la Troisieme Periode Intermediaire," BIFAO 75 (1975) 1-66 & Plates I-V. The Lament inscription with translation and notes are on p.29f.

[160] Anthony Spalinger, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt Preceding the Assyrian Conquest," CdE 53 (1978) 30-31.

Something has gone terribly wrong. Taharka is confused. His first instinct is to question Amun, his patron deity.

> It is readily evident that the importance of Amun in the world is paramount and that Taharqa is imploring his deity and master in terms surprisingly personal and factual for an Egyptian Pharaoh. Also, clearly, control of the Asiatic lands has, in some manner, been lost (whether or not these lands were directly controlled by Taharqa is not germane to this argument) and Taharqa is to blame. Taharqa asks Amun to aid him in the performance to the good end of a bad situation (col. 6) "Preserve me from unhappiness and preserve me from any bad action" is a further remark by Taharqa. The Pharaoh stresses the perseverance of his god Amun, who never abandons his son Horus (Taharqa) despite the latter's mistakes. Amun always completes his plans; and Taharqa's present situation seems (to him) quite incomplete (col. 5).[161]

What is the nature of the loss recently suffered by Taharka? The text is not entirely clear. It seems to Spalinger that "Taharka is purposely avoiding an explicit statement of what has gone wrong." Column 16 of the inscription specifically mentions the loss of the tribute (*inw*) of Khor (Syria-Palestine), but surely such losses were commonplace in the ebb and flow of political fortunes in the ancient world.

> In essence, this powerfully written yet very indirect composition presents Taharqa's version of a debacle, the significance of which climaxes in the sixteenth column wherein the king announces to Amun that the territory of Khor no longer sends its tribute to Egypt. The previous fifteen columns set out Taharqa's explanation of this disaster: something went wrong abroad. As it could not have been Amun who caused the plans to fail, and as Taharqa is equally unwilling to implicate himself, then it must have been the fault of those plans themselves. Alternatively, Taharqa offers the suggestion that it is equally possible that, as Amun never fails in his acts, any setback - such as his present debacle - only shows that the entire sequence of events has not yet been completed. Hence, a dual analysis is at work here: namely, the acts leading up to the Asiatic debacle were at fault (and not the king); or else the entire episode is still to be resolved and any setback is temporary.[162]

The question that confronts Taharka is clear. He has suffered a humiliating military defeat, resulting in the loss of the tribute of Khor. Should he continue to do battle or abandon the fight? But fight against whom? No specific enemy is named in the text. According to Vernus and Spalinger there is no question. Taharka ruled Egypt in the early decades of the 7th century. His adversary was Assyria. The inscription must date in the years immediately preceding Esarhaddon's failed battle against Taharka in 674 B.C. It is assumed that prior to this date Taharka engaged in a failed attempt to regain control

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[161] Ibid., p. 31
[162] Ibid., p. 30

of Phoenica for Egypt.[163] This "temporary counter-offensive" against Esarhaddon must, according to Spalinger, be what the Pharaoh alludes to in the Vernus text.[164] The Karnak inscription must therefore date to 675 B.C.

But this interpretation is strained. We wonder what great loss was suffered by Taharka in 675 B.C., or thereabouts, to evoke from him the atypical emotional outburst of the Karnak inscription. There is absolutely no evidence that Phoenicia around this time had been a vassal of Egypt, contributing substantial sums to the treasury of Amun in Thebes. And the emotional outburst of Taharka can hardly be attributed to a failed land-grab.

In the revised history there is no problem understanding Taharka's agony. Only a few years earlier he ruled over lands as far afield as the Hatti lands, Naharain and Assur. Those territories have been abandoned. The Karnak wall inscription specifically ascribed to him control of all of Syria/Palestine, the lands of Khor. This too is gone. But he has lost more than the tribute of Khor; he has lost all of Lower Egypt. The fact that he does not explicitly recount the loss of Lower Egypt is understandable. He has not yet accepted the fact. Clearly he hopes for a reversal of fortunes. His pleading appears intended to gain Amun's blessing on a counter-attack, though he equivocates, uncertain of the viability of such action.

In the traditional history Taharka's lament dates to his seventeenth year (Spalinger) or between years 14 and 17 (Vernus). If we are correct it must date to his 6th year, only months after the high Nile, and a century removed from the time of Esarhaddon.

The inscription itself contains no date. Following the initial lines of text containing the traditional praise to the deity, Taharka credits his control of Upper and Lower Egypt to Amun (col. 4). He reminds him that even before his coronation "a great flood" had been foretold for him, from which would follow blessing, not trouble (cols. 8-10) He pleads, apparently still referring to the flood and its consequences: "Deliver me from the pain, deliver me from every bad result" (col. 12) He asks instead that he might experience an abundance (that should result from such a flood) to make his heart happy (cols. 13,14). There follows immediately the lament concerning his territorial loss.

There is no doubt that the "great flood" of column 9 refers to that which occurred in Taharka's sixth year. Since the description of Taharka's territorial losses follows immediately the mention of the great flood it should follow that this loss of territory occurred immediately following the flood. No other explanation is reasonable. Taharka, only months earlier, had praised Amun for the great flood, construed as a token of divine favor, a source of multiple blessings. Instead there followed the unspeakable horrors of

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[163] Cf. Vernus, p.46: “Notre texte serait donc a placer entre les annees 14 et 17 du roi.”

[164] “In conclusion, this inscription from Taharqa’s reign must have been written very soon after a debacle in Asia (most probably Palestine) but before another offensive: Taharqa directly indicates that he will resume his campaigns if Amun is willing. A date after his tenth year is indicated from the Egyptian evidence listed earlier. Spalinger, op.cit. p. 33

the Babylonian invasion, the humiliating loss of his Memphite capital, and the near loss of his life. Perplexed, he waits for Amun to turn defeat into victory. Instead, only further loss ensued. The Karnak inscription was barely finished when Taharka was driven out of Thebes.

Taharka in Nubia

Late in 564 B.C. or early in 563 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar extended his conquest southward to Thebes. The fact can be confirmed only circumstantially. There is evidence that building activity in Thebes ceased after Taharka's seventh year. There is also indication that later in his seventh year Nebuchadrezzar moved even further south into Nubia. The evidence can be otherwise interpreted, but in combination with what has already been stated it is at least corroborative.

Taharka the Builder

Scholars claim that Taharka was a prolific builder, and in comparison to his predecessors Shabataka and Shabaka the fact is uncontested. His building activity is restricted almost exclusively to the south of Egypt, primarily to Thebes and to numerous sites in Nubia, though some evidence of building in Memphis has been discovered. Confirmation of this extensive construction consists primarily of undated inscriptions and cartouches adorning walls and colonnades. There is no unequivocal evidence that these structures were conceived by and erected by Taharka. He does not claim to have built them. It could be argued that he merely adorned existing structures with his own inscriptions, as did Ramses II centuries earlier.

It is significant for the present revision that there is no inscription of Taharka dated beyond his 7th year, save for a single Karnak quay record confirming the height of the Nile flood in his 9th year.[165] Since we believe that Nebuchadnezzar invaded Egypt in Taharka's 7th year this absence of inscriptions of later date is of some significance. But it is clearly an argument from silence. Most of Taharka's inscriptions are undated. We cannot prove his constructions do not originate from later years, though Egyptologists date the majority to the first half of his reign. At least in one notable instance we are able to follow the progress of a physical construction clearly dated to the first decade of Taharka's reign. It is highly informative and warrants our attention. We refer, of course, to the Kawa temple in Nubia.

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[165] The quay inscription does not imply Taharka was in the country. For loyal followers who endured the holocaust he remained a king of Egypt. Thebes was the seat of his administration. We assume the other nomarchs had been killed or exiled to Babylon. Taharka still claimed the title "king of Upper and Lower Egypt", though absent from the country.

The Kawa Temple Construction

It is well known that Taharka was the builder par excellence in Nubia. There he erected large temples in widely dispersed sites as far south as Meroe, 800 miles south of Thebes. Within a 500-mile stretch of the Nile, from 300 to 800 miles south of Thebes, he built at least five large temples, all clearly attributed to him. If nothing else, these massive constructions attest to his preoccupation with this southern region, if not to his permanent residence in the area. They are at least compatible with our thesis that Taharka was driven from Egypt early in his reign, and lived out the balance of his life in Nubia. But only in Kawa, ancient Gempaten, do we have sufficient dated inscriptional material to argue that this change in homeland dates from his seventh year.

We have observed already in one Kawa stela inscription how Taharka came north to join Shabataka at age 20, and how he was later crowned in Memphis. On this earlier journey north he passed by the site of the abandoned and partially sand covered remains of the Kawa temple. In the inscription Kawa IV he recalls his sadness at the sight of the Kawa ruins and his vow to one day restore the temple.

> Now His Majesty had been in Nubia as a goodly youth, a king's brother, pleasant of love, and he came north to Thebes in the company of goodly youths whom His Majesty King Shebitku had sent to fetch from Nubia, in order that he might be there with him, since he loved him more than all his brethren. He passed to the nome of Amun of Gempaten that he might make obeisance at the temple door, with the army of His Majesty which had traveled north together with him. He found that this temple had been built in brick, but that its sand-hill had reached to its roof, it having been covered over with earth at a time of year when one feared the occurrence of rainfall. And his Majesty's heart grew sad at it until His Majesty appeared as King, crowned as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (and) when the Double Diadem was established upon his head, and his name became Horus Lofty-of-Diadems, he called to mind this temple, which he had beheld as a youth, in the first year of his reign.[166] Then His Majesty said to his courtiers, 'Lo, I desire to rebuild the temple of my father Amon-Re' of Gempaten, since it was built of brick (only) and covered over with soil, a thing not pleasant in the opinion of men'.

Temple construction began in Taharka's first year, though the king remained in Memphis.

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[166] There is considerable controversy over how to punctuate and interpret this sentence. Did Taharka observe the deterioration of the Kawa temple years earlier, "in the first year of his reign", while en route to Egypt; or is the phrase "in the first year of his reign" a reference to his present situation. We agree with the second interpretation. Taharka, in the first year of his reign, while reflecting back on his earlier observation of the sand covered temple at Gempaten, decides to repair that temple.

> 'And His Majesty caused his army to go to Gempaten together with numerous gangs and good craftsmen, innumerable, an architect being there with them to direct the work at this temple while His Majesty was in Memphis. Then this temple was built of good white sandstone, excellent, hard, made with enduring work, its face toward the west, the house being of gold, the columns of gold, the inlays(?) thereof being of silver. Its towers were built, its doors erected, it being inscribed with the Great Name of His Majesty. Its numerous trees were planted in the ground and its lakes dug, together with its House of Natron, it being filled with its implements of silver, gold, and bronze whereof the number is not known. And this God was made to rest within it, resplendent and glorious, for ever, the reward for this being life and welfare and the appearance upon the throne of Horus for ever.' (Kawa IV: 7-27)

The inscription Kawa IV is dated in year 6 of Taharka. The text leaves no doubt that the temple was completed by this time. Even the landscaping was finished. In the final act of consecration, the (statue of the) god Amun was installed in his temple, "resplendent and glorious".

Another stela, Kawa III, provides a year-by-year inventory of the gifts made to the Gempaten temple, from year 1 to year 7 inclusive. In meticulous detail the furnishings of the temple are described. They are made of the finest materials available. The durable goods are made exclusively of gold and silver. Following the listing of equipment donated in the seventh and final year, the inscription proudly announces the completion of the project:

> 'He established the god's revenues, stocked his altars and provided his magazine with men and maidservants, even the children of the chieftains of the Tjehenu. This temple was furnished, which he made for him anew, and he filled it with numerous chantresses, their sistra in their hands, to play before his beautiful face...' Kawa III:22-23

Having finished the physical construction, this installation of temple personal signalled the end of the project. But something untoward happened later in that seventh year.

From yet another stela inscription, Kawa VI, which "continues the record of gifts begun with Kawa III," we get the distinct impression that the temple is not finished. The new inscription provides a second list of temple donations from year 7 and adds listings for years 8 and 9. The excavators are confused. Kawa III provided unambiguous references to the installation of temple personal, the necessary and ultimate prelude to initiating temple operations. Kawa VI concludes its listing of year 9 items with equally unambiguous references to the installation of temple personal:

> The columns were set up, overlaid in beautiful gold, their inlays (?) being of silver; its pylons were built, of good work; its doors were set up, of true cedar, the bolts being of Asiatic bronze; it was inscribed with the Great Name of His

> Majesty by all sorts of skilful-fingered scribes and cut by good craftsmen who surpassed what the ancients had done; its store-house was stocked and its altars supplied. He filled it with drink-offering tables of silver, gold, Asiatic bronze, and every kind of real costly stone, innumerable; he filled (it) with numerous servants and he appointed maidservants to it, *wives of chieftains of Lower Egypt*. Wine is trodden from the vines of this city; it is more abundant than (that of) Djesdjes, and he appointed gardeners for them, good gardeners of the Mentiu of Asia. He filled this temple with priests, men who knew their spells, even the children of the great ones of every country. He filled his house with chantresses to play before his beautiful face. (italics added)

There can be no doubt from this inscription that the temple is just being completed in year nine. Any doubt is removed by yet another inscription, Kawa VII. This stela, says MacAdam, "records the official opening of the temple of Taharqa at Gempaten in his tenth year." "It shows," he adds, "that the previous accounts ... which seem to suggest that the temple was already finished by the years in which they were set up, mean no more than that operations were in progress." But the language of this stela does not come close to the conclusive language of stelae IV and III. Taharka, on New Year's Day of his tenth year, acknowledges his final act of "setting up; sprinkling; presenting a house to its owner." He boasts, "My Majesty has (re-)made the house of my father Amun the Great." But this was not the celebration of three years earlier. We wonder why Taharka had to rebuild a temple he had completed only a few years earlier.

MacAdam notes without comment that stela VI is "blackened by fire at the bottom". We wonder whether the stone was retrieved from a fire-damaged temple and re-cut for the inscription of year 10. A fire would explain the few years' delay. But why would Taharka not comment on the fact? A further observation provides a possible explanation. We noted that stela III concluded with a listing of temple equipment donated in year 7. All the items were made of gold and silver. We noted further that stela VI begins with a second list of items donated in year 7, almost certainly later in that year since it continues with donations in years 8 and 9. Without exception, every item donated in the later part of year 7, and several items as well in year 8, were made of bronze. This is in stark contrast with items from years one through 7 and year 9. What happened to Taharka's gold and silver in year seven?

The reader knows our opinion on the matter. We believe Nebuchadrezzar invaded the Egyptian Delta late in year 6 of Taharka, moved south to Thebes later that same year, driving Taharka further south into Nubia. In year seven he sent a contingent of his army up the Nile at least as far as Kawa. We know from the Hebrew prophets that he invaded Egypt in search of wealth to pay his army. We can only conjecture that in the middle of year seven he overran the temple complex of Kawa, removed its gold, and destroyed at least some of the recent construction of Taharka, necessitating three more years of repair. We further conjecture that Taharka fled from the invading armies south to Napata where he established permanent residence. On the retreat of the Babylonian force he

renewed his interest in Kawa, and completed the temple. For the balance of his life, though officially king of Egypt, Taharka was in fact a strictly Nubian monarch. Most of his temple construction in Nubia likely post-dates his seventh year.

This invasion of Nubia by Nebuchadrezzar is not pure conjecture. The biblical prophets included Cush along with Egypt as future victims of Nebuchadrezzar. Ezekiel predicted that "Cush and Put, Lydia and all Arabia" (30:4), including Libya, would fall by the sword along with Egypt. There exist some scattered historical confirmation of such an extended campaign by Nebuchadrezzar. Strabo states on the authority of Megasthenes, who lived in the time of Seleucus Nicator, that Nebuchadrezzar conquered North Africa. Josephus claims, in support of Megasthenes, that Nebuchadrezzar also conquered Libya and Iberia. The apparent despoiling of the Kawa temple in Taharka's seventh year is at least consistent with this tradition of Nebuchadrezzar's extended campaigns. Having conquered Egypt he secured the country by means of permanent garrisons of troops, and with Egypt as a base of operations proceeded to conquer neighbouring African states.

Babylonian Garrisons

The Invasion

The Egyptian holocaust was thorough. Few survivors lived to describe its horrors; fewer still with the literary skills necessary to preserve its memory. Unknown numbers escaped to the western oases or into the eastern desert. Some fled to Thebes and ultimately into Nubia. The Kawa inscriptions reveal the presence of native Egyptians, "wives of chieftains of Lower Egypt" adopted as temple slaves in the reconstructed temple.[167] Were they survivors of the invasion?

When Nebuchadrezzar returned to Babylon there were relatively few survivors left in Egypt. Some refugees perhaps returned in the months immediately following, as happened also in Judah. We are certain that Nebuchadnezzar left behind at least one garrison of troops to secure his possession and continue to collect revenue, if not to act as a base of operations while extending his kingdom. The attack on the Kawa temple may have been a secondary action by these troops.

Freedom of movement in Egypt was severely restricted, if not prohibited. But we know that some activity persisted. The Nile level records registered at Karnak in the name of Taharka are a case in point. They were registered in years 8 and 9 of the Nubian king, and then they cease. In those years there may have been no Babylonian forces remaining in Thebes to preclude such intermittent and clandestine activity. The Amun temple had already been ransacked; its treasure removed.

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[167] See the italicized text on p. 127 above.

Nebuchadrezzar died within a few years of the invasion, in 562 B.C. His immediate successors were not weak, but they quickly lost the kingdom. By 546 B.C. Cyrus had defeated Croesus of Lydia and Persia ruled Anatolia. Within a few years he claimed possession of most of the former domains of Nebuchadrezzar. By default if not by conquest he was king of Egypt in 543 B.C. When Babylon fell in 539 B.C., Cyrus ruled the Near Eastern world.

Persia was more benevolent than Babylon. Under Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius I, both the Judaean and the Egyptian exiles ended by degrees. Rebuilding, retraining, restructuring began immediately. Psamtik arrived as governor to assume control of the Persian province.

The critic will ask for evidence that this is so. We begin by arguing the case for the garrisons. The restoration activity which began with the arrival of Psamtik I is documented in the next chapter. That same documentation includes testimony to the destructive results of the invasion.

Babylonian Garrisons

When Nebuchadrezzar retreated from Egypt in 563 B.C., he left behind not one, but several garrisons of troops to secure his possession. They were probably not large. For this claim there is only indirect evidence and the example of Babylonian policy elsewhere. Riblah on the Orontes, a known outpost of Babylonian troops, controlled the Hatti lands, including Judah. It was too remote from Egypt to be serviceable. Egypt required local troops, and because of its size, several contingents were necessary. The locations of the Babylonian garrisons follow from the reasonable assumption that the Persian rulers of Egypt, acting only two decades after the invasion, merely replaced Babylonian troops with their own, and in the same locations (or thereabouts). And in Persian times there were four such garrison towns.

Olmstead, in his *History of the Persian Empire*, describes how "Egypt was formed into the satrapy of Mudraya, with Memphis as the capital. Garrisons guarded the frontier at Daphne in the eastern Delta, at the White Wall of Memphis[168], and at Elephantine below the first cataract, where large numbers of Jewish mercenaries were colonized."[169] This was the state of affairs under Darius I. It is reasonable to assume the existence of the same sites , or minimally, locations nearby, under Nebuchadrezzar and his immediate successors.

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[168] The garrison at this location is said to have been founded by Menes at the junction of the two Egypts, across the river from the capital at the site of Old Cairo. The Old Cairo site, in later times, was known as the Egyptian Babylon.

[169] A.T. Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire (1948) p.89.

To these locations we can add Marea in the western Delta. According to Herodotus:

> In the reign of Psammetichus there were garrisons posted at Elephantine on the side of Ethiopia, at Daphnae of Pelusium on the side of Arabia and Assyria, and at Marea on the side of Libya. And still in my time the Persians hold these posts as they were held in the days of Psammetichus; there are Persian guards at Elephantine and at Daphnae. Her. II:30

The pseudo-Herodotus, quoted here, mistakenly distinguishes between the rule of the Saite dynasty kings and the time of the Persians, as he does elsewhere. But he clearly dates the formation of garrisons at Elephantine, Marea, and Daphnae as early as the reign of Psamtik I, and suggests that these outposts continued up to his day, well into the Persian domination of the 5th century. We should be able to verify or modify these statements by checking the archaeological record at these sites. Of all the locations the site of Daphnae is most clearly articulated.

Daphnae

Daphnae we know about. It was the Tahpanhes to which the Jewish refugees fled in 586 B.C., following the destruction of Jerusalem. It was there that Jeremiah first predicted the invasion of Egypt and where the claim was made that Nebuchadnezzar would there set up his tent. According to Jeremiah it was the site of a palace belonging to the Egyptian king (lit. "house of Pharaoh"). (Jer.43:9) In the traditional history this Pharaoh would be Ha'a'ibre Wahibre (Apries), whose dates were 589-570 B.C. The state of repair of that residence is not specified in the writings of Jeremiah. But there is no indication that Pharaoh's house was occupied. The presence of Jewish refugees at Tahpanhes suggest instead it may have been an abandoned secondary residence, perhaps in disrepair. When Nebuchadrezzar arrived years later, he set up his "canopy" over the brick pavement at the entrance to the palace. If there was an intact palace at the site we wonder why he would not occupy it.

So much for the palace at Daphnae. What about the fortress at the site? There is certainly no mention of a fortress at Tahpanhes in the writings of Jeremiah, though according to Herodotus one must have existed, a garrison of troops being stationed there continuously from the days of Psamtik I through to the middle of the 5th century. Admittedly we have previously discounted the opinion of the Pseudo-Herodotus. But in this instance there is secondary confirmation that he is correct. Archaeological excavation confirms the existence of a fortress throughout the duration of the Saite dynasty. All Saite dynasty kings except Psamtik III have left inscriptional record of their presence It is surprising that no mention is made of the Saite fortress by Jeremiah.

Something seems amiss in the statements of Jeremiah vis-à-vis the site of Daphne in the year 586 B.C. Clearly there is need to re-examine the archaeological record at that

location, to see if the evidence supports the traditional or the revised history at the site.

If the traditional history is correct, the fortress at Tahpanhes lasted from 664 B.C. till at minimum 405 B.C., thus through the Saite and Persian periods. If a Babylonian army did arrive in 564 B.C., in the days of Amasis (569-525 B.C.) as predicted by Jeremiah, it probably would have occupied that very fortress, though only for a matter of weeks or months, since according to scholars the invasion, if it occurred at all, was quickly aborted. Amasis would have reoccupied Tahpanhes after the withdrawal of the Babylonian army. The occupation of the fortress would have continued uninterrupted through the first Persian domination. Persian scholars such as Olmstead (quoted earlier) are adamant that Daphnae was a Persian outpost through the 5th century.

If this is true there should be clear indication at the site that the Daphnae fortress was occupied for the 139 year duration of the Saite dynasty and into the Persian period at least up to the time of Herodotus, if not through to the end. Archaeologically, there should be evidence of the presence of both dynasties – a Persian occupation layer overlying a Saite dynasty occupation layer.

If the revised history is correct the Daphnae site must be differently construed. When the Jewish refugees arrived in Tahpanhes in 586 B.C., the 25th dynasty king Shabaka (Wahibre/Hophra) was in the last year of his life. His death would authenticate the oracle which predicted the arrival of Nebuchadrezzar and the death and destruction that would follow. At the time Egypt was ruled by multiple nomarchs, of whom Shabaka was but one, albeit the first among equals. There was no single "Pharaoh" to whom the residence at Tahpanhes could be attributed. It was undoubtedly an abandoned relic from the past. As for the fortress at the site, the time of Psamtik I and the beginning of the Saite dynasty was forty years in the future. There was no fortress in Tahpanhes, since the fortress originated with Psamtik (a fact confirmed by the archaeological evidence and the testimony of Herodotus). When Nebuchadnezzar arrived in Egypt he would have had to house his army in quarters elsewhere in the eastern Delta, possibly at Migdol[170], one of the first cities he occupied on his invasion route. There a garrison would remain until the arrival of the Persians and of governor Psamtik in 543 B.C. Jeremiah's remarks concerning the site of Tahpanhes suit these conditions much better than the hypothetical situation presented by the traditional history.

More importantly, from the perspective of the revised history we do not expect two separate periods of occupation of the Daphnae fortress. The Persian period began

[170] The Babylonian garrison established in the aftermath of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion was certainly not situated at Tahpanhes. The Babylonian army remained in Egypt for twenty years. There is no record of their presence at the site of Daphne. Only in the Persian period is the claim made that Daphne was home to a fortress. Migdol was a fortress town; the very name means "fortress". The Migdol site was systematically surveyed and excavated in 1972 by the Ben-Gurion University and the results published by Eliezer D. Oren, "Migdol: A New Fortress on the Edge of the Eastern Nile Delta," BASOR 256 (1984) 7-44.

twenty years after the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar. Psamtik's tenure as governor, and thus the Saite dynasty, began at the same time. The Persian and the Saite dynasties overlapped throughout their length. If the Persians wanted a fortress at Daphnae in order to house a garrison, then Psamtik I, the first governor-king, must have built the fortress for them. The Saite fortress and the Persian fortress were one and the same. Any archaeological remains at the site should confirm these facts. They should show clearly that the fortress at Daphnae was built and occupied by the Saite dynasty. There should not exist two separate and distinct strata, a Persian occupation layer overlying a Saite dynasty occupation layer. The Persian overlords were, for the most part, absent from the country. Their presence should not be attested at Daphnae. There should be only the Saite layer, showing evidence of occupation by Psamtik I and his descendants.

Which scenario best explains the archaeological evidence?

W.M. Flinders Petrie excavated the ruins at Tahpanhes late in the 19th century and the excavation results were published in the 4th memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund.[171] The archaeological results indicated that the site had been occupied as early as Ramesside times. (Thus the abandoned and inhabitable "house of Pharaoh"?) The existing fort, however, contained foundation deposits of Psamtik I, confirming the claim by Herodotus that Psamtik fortified the site. Sundry artifacts in the remains of the fortress attested the presence of all of the Saite governor/kings through the reign of Amasis. Surprisingly, Petrie could find no evidence of occupation by the Persians!

And how did Petrie explain the contradiction between Herodotus and the excavation results from Daphnae? He argued that elsewhere Herodotus makes the claims that a Greek mercenary army, garrisoned at Daphne early in the days of Amasis, was moved to Naucratis in the western Delta. Thus the fortress at Daphnae was abandoned near the end of the Saite period. If the Persian's continued to use Tahpanhes to defend the eastern Delta, they must have built another fortress elsewhere on the site (or less likely elsewhere in the eastern Delta) But Petrie could find no evidence of Persian occupation anywhere at Tahpanhes. The site was otherwise denuded. He hypothesized that perhaps in antiquity the building had been dismantled and its materials used for construction elsewhere. Either that or modern fellahin had helped themselves to the brick and mortar. If the Persian fortification was located elsewhere, that secondary location has never been found. No explanation is forthcoming why the Persians would not have occupied the abandoned Saite fortress at Daphne. And if the garrison was moved elsewhere, why did tradition continue to maintain Daphnae as the site of a Persian garrison well into the first Persian domination? Why did Petrie believe Herodotus concerning the withdrawal of Greek mercenaries by Amasis (an incident which allegedly took place 150 years before the time of Herodotus) and not believe Herododus when he claims that the Persians occupied Daphnae in the Persian period in which he lived?

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[171] *Nebesheh and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)* (1888)

There is no point continuing the argument. The archaeology clearly supports the revised history. The Saite/Persian army was the only occupant of the Daphne fortress. There is no need to search for a secondary fortification at Daphnae or elsewhere. Herodotus may have been correct when he stated that the Greek mercenaries at Daphnae were moved to Naucratis in the reign of Amasis (449-405 B.C.). But that statement does not conflict with his claim that *Persian guards* remained at Daphne to his day, nor with the likelihood that mercenaries of other nationalities remained as well.

Before we proceed to comment on the other garrison locations we should mention briefly an unfortunate consequence of the errant interpretation of the excavation record at Daphnae. As stated already, Petrie, who first excavated the site, found evidence that the fort was constructed by Psamtik and abandoned in the days of Amasis. He concluded, incorrectly as it turns out, that all Greek pottery found on the site belonged to the 7th/6th centuries B.C., and could be dated securely. In Petrie's estimation the Persian garrison that supplanted the Saite garrison was located elsewhere and left no characteristic pottery record in the Daphne fortress.[172] Accordingly he boasts that Tahpanhes provides a unique opportunity to establish dates for Greek pottery within well-defined limits.

> With regard to the age of the pottery, it seems certain that all Greek pottery from Defenneh must be included within just about a century. The fort was founded, and the Ionians settled here, about 665 B.C., and the Greeks were entirely removed by Aahmes about 565 B.C. Few sites can give such a well-defined period; but probably no large collection of painted fragments is so closely limited as is the bulk of the pottery here, which comes from chambers 18 and 29, as this may be dated between 595 and 565 B.C., with a probability which only some very clear exception could refute.[173]

It is clear from this comment that Petrie had found significant amounts of Greek pottery in chambers otherwise dateable to the reigns of Psamtik II (595-589), Apries (589-570) and the early years of Ahmose-sa-Neith (570-526). The pottery he found was subsequently used to establish firm dates for a Greek pottery sequence that has remained a standard for over a century since. But Petrie was clearly mistaken. In the revised history the pottery he found must be dated to the years 474-444 B.C., 121 years later than he thought. If Amasis relocated the Greek mercenaries from Tahpanhes to Naucratis around his 6th year as Petrie believed, following Herodotus, then that move took place around the year 444 B.C. The fort may have remained vacant thereafter, though in all probability it remained lightly defended after the departure of the Greek contingent of the army, and was likely destroyed in 398 B.C. in an invasion to be documented in our final chapter.

We repeat our conclusion. The Greek pottery dated by Petrie with such confidence

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[172] W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Nebesheh and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)* (1888), p. 52.
[173] Ibid., p.62.

originates from a time 121 years later than he thought.

It follows that Petrie's faulty chronology for the Psamtik fortress is at least partially responsible for a distortion in the standard dating of Greek pottery, since that pottery chronology was developed in large part from evidence at Tahpanhes. The Greek pottery sequence, as a partial consequence of the faulty chronology of the Daphnae fortress, is dated over a century earlier than it should be. The problem has not gone unnoticed.

In recent years "a series of studies by the late David Francis, a specialist in Persian-Greek relations, and Michael Vickers, Assistant Keeper of Antiquities at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, have challenged practically all the major criteria for dating Greek art and architecture even as late as the early 5th century B.C."[174] They have argued for a lowering of the dates for the Greek geometric ware chronology by upwards of 50 years in order to bring harmony into the archaeological record.

> In step with their reduction of many of the 'fixed points' in Greek art history, Francis and Vickers have proposed a radical compression of Archaic pottery chronology. For example, they have offered a 'recalibration' of Greek ceramic chronology which would involve lowering dates presently given as 550-525 BC by some forty-five to seventy years, and those around 620-600 BC by as much as eighty years. The debate about the value of their revision is ongoing. Certainly some lowering of Archaic dates seems to be in order, but exactly how much remains a moot point. (CD 98)

Our re-evaluation of the Tahpanhes excavation solves two problems and establishes two facts. It explains the apparent incongruity of a Persian fort containing only evidence of Saite dynasty occupation; and further explains the anomalies that have caused Francis and Vickers to propose a lowering of dates for the chronology of Greek ceramics. On the other hand it eliminates Daphnae from consideration as a Babylonian garrison town during the period of occupation following the invasion, and more importantly, provides important validation of the reliability of our revised chronology.

The case for two of the remaining Persian garrisons is different. There is evidence that at least Memphis/Cairo and Elephantine were home to Babylonian troops from the years 564-543 B.C.

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[174] Peter James, et. al., *Centuries of Darkness* (1990) p. 97.

Egyptian Babylon

The very name of the old Cairo garrison (near Memphis) mentioned by Olmstead argues for its Babylonian origin. It cannot be accidental that this location in antiquity was called “Babylon”. There are disparate views on the age of this so-called "Egyptian Babylon". Diodorus Siculus "attributes its foundation to a colony of Babylonian prisoners in the reign of Sesostris (probably a mistake for Ramses II). He says that it occupied a strong position on the river, opposite to and slightly north of Memphis."[175] Josephus (Ant. 2.15.1) claims that Cambyses built the Egyptian Babylon after his arrival in Egypt in 525 B.C.. It is more than likely that Josephus is describing a refurbishing of the existing Babylonian fortification following the arrival of Cambyses.

Perhaps the most vivid testimony concerning Babylon on the Nile comes from John of Nikiu, Coptic bishop of Nikiu in the late 7th century A.D. His sources are clearly Roman. In his history of Egypt he writes:

> And Trajan came to Egypt and built a fortress with a strong impregnable tower, and he brought water into it in abundance and he named it Babylon in Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar the king of the Magi and Persians was the first to build its foundations and to name it the fortress of Babylon. This was the epoch when he became its king by the ordinance of God, when he drove the Jews into exile after the destruction of Jerusalem, and also when they stoned to death a prophet of God at Thebes in Egypt, and added sin to sin. And Nebuchadnezzar came to Egypt with a numerous army and made a conquest of Egypt, because the Jews had revolted against him, and he named (the fortress) Babylon after the name of his own city. Chron.72:15-18

We must leave the matter there. No definitive evidence remains at the site.

Elephantine/Syene

The third Persian garrison, located on the island of Elephantine near Syene (modern Assuan), is well documented. Large quantities of papyri – referred to collectively as the Elephantine papyri - were discovered in excavations at the site. The documents date from the end of the 5th century. They reveal the fact that over a century after the arrival of Cambyses a large contingent of Babylonian troops was still employed there in the cause of Persia. It could be argued, of course, that these troops were recent arrivals and that they provide no certain indication of the nationality of those who occupied the site at the beginning of the Persian domination. But there is further evidence that the tradition of employing Babylonian troops in the area goes back to the time of Darius I, and probably earlier.

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[175] G.T. Manley, "Babylon On The Nile," EQ 16 (1944) p.138

In 1944 in one of the galleries of the Ibis cemetery at Ashmunein were found eight Aramaic papyri, dating from the end of the 5th century, thus contemporary with the Elephantine papyri. The letters concern affairs in Syene, near Elephantine, and reveal, *inter alia*, "that temples of four Asiatic gods were located in Syene. These four gods were Nabu, Banit, Bethel, and the 'Queen of Heaven.'"[176] An argument, albeit circuitous, can be made that the existence of temples to these particular gods indicates a long-standing tradition of Babylonian troops in the area.

Siegfried Horn describes the salient features of the four gods. Two are Babylonian and for that reason significant.

"Nabu was the son of Marduk in Babylonian mythology and the chief god of Borsippa, a city south of Babylon. He was especially popular during the period of the neo-Babylonian empire, as attested by the many personal names of that time in which Nabu formed a component."[177] The presence at this late date of a temple dedicated to a neo-Babylonian god suggests a tradition of long standing. The temple itself must be old. But the temple to the goddess Banit is even more intriguing. In the estimation of Horn,

> the existence of a temple dedicated to such an obscure goddess as Banit is difficult to explain. Banit appears in some texts as one of the many names of the Babylonian Ishtar but is otherwise rarely encountered in Akkadian texts. The name occurs mainly as a component of Akkadian personal names, of which some bearers were female slaves, so J.J. Stamm thinks that Banit was a deity of female slaves. But if slaves had carried this minor goddess to Egypt, would they have had the means to erect a temple or shrine to her. This question is easy to ask but impossible to answer. Since temples dedicated to her are not even known to have existed in ancient Mesopotamia, where her original home must have been, it is difficult to understand that a sanctuary was erected for her in faraway Egypt.[178]

The difficulty is solved if we assume that Babylonian troops occupied the area for over twenty years at the beginning of the Egyptian exile. They would have the resources, access to conscript labour, and most of all the devotion to this particular deity to motivate the construction of a temple. The army troops would also have female slaves if garrisoned for extensive time periods.

On the assumption that the four temples in the same area argue for some historical connection among them, the third deity becomes extremely relevant. There is no direct connection between this goddess and Babylon, but in a secondary sense her connection with the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar is even more profound. We refer to the deity

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[176] Siegfried H. Horn, "Foreign Gods in Ancient Egypt," in Studies In Honor of John A Wilson , SAOC 35, p. 39

[177] Ibid. The name of Nebuchadrezzar (Nabu-kudurru-user) is but one prominent example.

[178] Ibid., p.40

known only by the epithet "queen of heaven".

Mention of the "Queen of Heaven" immediately calls to mind the Babylonian period, for Jeremiah was particularly disturbed by the worship of this goddess by Jews living throughout Egypt, including Pathros, the area containing the Syene temples.

> I will punish those who live in Egypt with the sword, famine and plague, as I punished Jerusalem. None of the remnant of Judah who has gone to live in Egypt will escape or survive to return to the land of Judah, to which they long to return and live; none will return except a few fugitives. Then all men who knew that their wives were burning incense to other gods, along with all the women who were present - a large assembly - and all the people living in Lower and Upper Egypt, said to Jeremiah. We will not listen to the message you have spoken to us in the name of the Lord. We will certainly do everything we said we would. We will burn incense to the Queen of Heaven ... Jer 1:15-18

This goddess is singled out for particular attention in the Hebrew Bible only in the neo-Babylonian period. The temple in her name in the late 5th century must trace its roots back to the time of the Babylonian invasion.

We assume therefore that Babylonian garrisons at Egyptian Babylon (Old Cairo) and Elephantine/Syene existed in Egypt throughout the first half of the Egyptian exile. We are otherwise in the dark as to the means by which affairs within the country were administered, though we suspect that multiple governors were appointed, each with much the same authority as possessed by Gedaliah in Judah in the aftermath of the fall of Jerusalem. The only evidence for this administrative structure is dated twenty years after the invasion, for when Taharka died in exile in 543 B.C. his Nubian successor Tanuatamon immediately launched an invasion to retake the Delta. What he encountered in Egypt is instructive.

Tanuatamon

Taharka died in Napata, his Nubian capital, in his 27th year. This is one year longer than he is given in the traditional history. Explanation is forthcoming in chapter six. Taharka’s reign spanned the years 569-543 B.C. He was succeeded by Tanuatamon, whose first year, 543 B.C., marks the transition from Babylonian to Persian rule. We don't know to which nation the garrison troops in Egypt are loyal at the moment. We assume it was Babylon. Perhaps they themselves are ambivalent, if indeed some or most have not already abandoned their strongholds. The country is only beginning to recover from the trauma of the invasion. The population is beginning to grow, regulated by an administration consisting of local "chiefs” appointed by or sanctioned by the Babylonian authorities. Temples still lie in ruin. The facilities for temple worship and priests to

regulate that worship are in short supply. There is a longing for former days.

Tanuatamon is the source of some of this information. His famous Dream Stela, "a grey granite round-topped stela 1.32 m. high and .72 m. wide, now in Cairo" was found at Napata, as was the Piankhi stela, in 1862.[179] It has been long studied but badly interpreted. In the traditional history its data were forced to fit the circumstance of an Assyrian occupation. It was not a good fit.

Early in the inscription Tanuatamon explains the motivation for his planned invasion of Egypt:

> In the year 1, of his coronation as king - - his majesty saw a dream by night: two serpents, one upon his right, the other upon his left. Then his majesty awoke, and he found them not. His majesty said: "Wherefore [has] this [come] to me?" Then they answered him, saying: " Thine is the Southland; take for thyself)(also) the North-land. The 'Two Goddesses shine upon thy brow, the land is given to thee, in its length and its breadth. [No] other divides it with thee." BAR IV 922

At the time when the dream occurred Tanuatamon resided south of Napata, likely in Meroe, not in Thebes, where he should be if he is the Urdamanie of the Assyrian annals. In Meroe he was crowned by the local authorities and from there he proceeded north to Napata to have his authority confirmed, accompanied by an army of "millions and hundreds of thousands". Making allowances for grossly inflated numbers we can accept that his military strength was considerable.

> His majesty arrived at the temple of Amon of Napata, residing in the Pure Mountain. As for his majesty, his heart was glad when he saw his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, residing in the Pure Mountain. Garlands for this god were brought to him; then his majesty brought forth in splendour Amon of Napata; and he made for him a great festival offering ... BAR IV 925

After days of feasting the army moved north. His first stop was Elephantine, the southernmost Babylonian garrison. He is apparently unopposed.[180] Here he takes some time to re-institute long dormant temple worship, as he will be requested to do elsewhere.

> His majesty sailed down-stream toward the Northland, that he might behold Amon, whose name is hidden from the gods. His majesty arrived at

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[179] *Breasted's Ancient Records* IV 919

[180] We conjecture that the garrison troops are intimidated by the size of Tanuatamon's army and have fled the scene. Critics will not complain about this rationalization. A similar problem confronts traditional historians when Tanuatamon encounters no opposition at Thebes, where an Assyrian army is supposedly present.

> Elephantine; then his majesty sailed across to Elephantine, he arrived at the temple of Khnum-Re, lord of the cataract, and he caused this god to be brought forth in splendor. He made a great festival offering ... BAR IV 925

If Babylonian troops remained in the area they had long since vacated the island of Elephantine, no match for the massive army of Tanuatamon. The Nubian king sailed on toward Thebes.

> Then his majesty sailed down-stream to the city Thebes of Amon. His majesty sailed to the frontier of Thebes (W's.t), and he entered the temple of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes. There came to his majesty the servant of the great ---, and the lay priests of the temple of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, and they brought to him garlands for Amon, whose name is (was?) hidden. He brought forth Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, in splendor, and there was celebrated a great feast in the whole land. BAR IV 926

The critic will no doubt point to the presence of priests in Thebes as a deficiency in our interpretation. But we have not argued the annihilation of the Egyptian priesthood, only that few priests survived the invasion. And only a few "lay priests" are on hand to greet Tanuatamon in this greatest of Egyptian temples. We note a reference to the name of Amun having been hidden, consistent with our thesis that there has been a period of dormancy in the Theban cultic tradition?

Once again a few days of feasting is all that is allowed. Tanuatamon is intent on liberating the whole of Egypt and uniting the crown. As he moved north he was welcomed as a liberator.

> His majesty sailed down-stream to the Northland, while the west and the east made great jubilee, saying: "Welcome is thy coming, and welcome thy ka! To sustain alive the Two Lands; to erect the temples which have begun to fall to ruin; to set up their statues in their shrines; to give divine offerings to the gods and goddesses, and mortuary offerings to the glorified (dead); to put the priest in his place; to furnish all things of the sacred property." As for those who had fighting in their hearts, they became rejoicers. BAR IV 927

Hardly a word in this narrative does not fit the circumstances of the year 543 B.C. Temples are not beginning to fall to ruin, as Breasted claims, supplying an inceptive nuance to the verb. They are already in ruins. The temple statuary has been plundered; temple furnishing and ritual instruments alike taken as booty in the invasion twenty years earlier. Temple offerings have long since ceased. Particularly lamented by these survivors of the holocaust is the absence of mortuary offerings for the hundreds of thousands who died. Small wonder the jubilation at the arrival of Taharka's successor.

The narrative goes on to describe the ensuing recovery of Lower Egypt. Breasted, whose translation we follow throughout, sets the conflict in an Assyrian context:

> He captured Memphis, perhaps slew Necho of Sais in battle, and, although unable to subdue the Delta dynasts, accepted what he construed as their submission, which they offered in person. He then ruled in Memphis as nominal king of all Egypt, and at this point the narrative of his stela closes. The presence of the Assyrians in the land is ignored throughout, and the inglorious conclusion of his reign in Egypt at the approach of Ashurbanipal's second great invasion … is naturally not added at the end. BAR IV 920

Breasted's comments are based entirely on the assumption that Tanuatamon is Urdamanie, and that the invasion takes place in an Assyrian context. But there is absolutely nothing in the inscription to substantiate that interpretation. It is throughout a theoretical construct based on a chronology that is grossly in error. There is no reference to Necho, or Sais, or any hint that Tanuatamon is leading a rebellion against the Assyrians from within the city of Memphis. In fact when he arrives at Memphis, he is the one who does battle with “the children of rebellion.” within, whom we identify as the remaining locals sympathetic with the Babylonian cause. If the critic replies that there is no specific reference to the Babylonians, we agree. Nor is there reference to the Assyrians, a fact acknowledged by Breasted. But that deficiency has at least some justification in the revised history at this transition stage between Babylonian and Persian rule in Egypt. A massive Egyptian army was approaching from the south. The army of Cyrus was threatening from the northeast. Egypt was clearly a lost cause. Any Babylonian troops would long since have abandoned their posts. Only those opportunistic sympathizers who had profited from the exile remained behind. Let the reader decide. We reproduce Breasted’s translation of the ongoing saga.

> When his majesty arrived at Memphis, there came forth the children of rebellion, to fight with his majesty. His majesty made a great slaughter among them; their number being unknown. His majesty took Memphis, and he entered into the temple of Ptah, "South-of-His-Wall;" he made a great festival oblation for Ptah-Sokar; he appeased Sekhmet, the great, who loves him.... Now after these things his majesty sailed north, to fight with the chiefs of the North. Then they entered their strongholds [as beasts crawl into] their holes. Then his majesty spent many days before them, (but) there came not forth one of them to fight with his majesty. Then his majesty sailed southward to Memphis. BAR IV 929-30

The relative ease with which Tanuatamon took Memphis can be attributed either to his great strength or to the weakness of the defenders. He proceeded into the Delta to subdue the local "chiefs", who at first retreated within city walls, then ultimately surrendered. These are not city kings or "dynasts" as Breasted claims. They are administrative officials, almost certainly Egyptian, but sanctioned by the ruling Babylonians. One of their number acted as spokesman.

> Then the hereditary prince of Per-Soped, Pekrur (P'-krr), arose to speak, saying: "Thou slayest whom thou wilt; and lettest live whom thou wilt [---]." They

> answered him with one accord, saying: "Give to us breath, O lord of life, without whom there is not life. Let us serve (*bk*) thee like the serfs who are subject to thee, as thou saidest at the first on the day when thou wert crowned as king." The heart of his majesty rejoiced when he heard this word, and he gave to them bread, beer, and every good thing. BAR IV 932

Tanuatamon accepted the fealty of the local chiefs and they were freed to return to their administrative duties, this time in service to Nubia.

> Said they to his majesty: "Let us go to our cities, that we may command our peasant-serfs that we may bring (f 'y.n) our impost (bk) to the court." His majesty (let) them go to their cities, and they became [subjects]. BAR IV 933

It is clear that Pekrur is the spokesman for the group. He must be of equal or greater authority than the others.[181] Yet he is called simply a hereditary prince (rp'(ti)) and a mayor (h't-') in the text. If this is the highest authority in Egypt, the country is indeed bankrupt. That Pekrur of Per-Soped in Tanuatamon's inscription is not the same as the Assyrian appointee of like sounding name goes without saying, even admitting the identity of the city he administered. Esarhaddon's king Pakruru was deposed and died before Rudamon instigated his revolt in the delta. There is no problem having two kings with the same name acting as chief of the same city a century apart. The name was hereditary in the region, as Breasted's translation suggests.[182] The Assyrian Pakruru sided *with* Tarqu against the powerful Ashurbanipal in 666 B.C. and paid for his daring with his life. The second *opposed* the invasion of Tanuatamon and returned passively to his city, promising to forward tribute to the Nubian pharaoh. They are not the same person.

Tanuatamon adds a final paragraph to his inscription suggesting that he lived happily thereafter: "The Southerners went north, and the Northerners went south to the place where his majesty was, bearing every good thing of the Southland, and all provision of the Northland, to satisfy the heart of his majesty the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Bekere, Son of Re, Tanuatamon... BAR IV 934

According to Breasted Tanuatamon's brief reign had an "inglorious conclusion" as the Assyrians under Ashurbanipal arrived to drive him from the country. Unfortunately this sequel was omitted at end of the stela. This, of course, is pure speculation on Breasted's part, but as it turns out he is almost correct. There was an approaching army, but it belonged to Cyrus, not Ashurbanipal. And Breasted is correct in claiming that within the year Psamtik I would take the stage. But the year is 543 B.C., not 664 B.C. It may seem

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[181] Which leads us to enquire as to the whereabouts of Necho, who ought to be the leader of the delta "kinglets".

[182] Steindorf over a century ago claimed that Pekrur is the Egyptian word krr (frog) with the article (pa).[182] That opinion has prevailed. But the dream stela uses an usual determinative which may suggest otherwise.

strange to historians but it is a fact of history that by the end of Tanuatamon's initial year as king of Cush, Cyrus the Great was declaring himself king of Egypt.

Postscript

The complaint may be raised that much of this chapter has merely proposed a hypothetical sequence of events none of which can be proved beyond question. Lest the critic complain too loudly we remind him that the same criticism applies, and with even greater force, to the traditional history. The fact remains that all that the historian can do in recounting 25th dynasty history is demonstrate a correspondence between the evidence and an assumed chronology. And we have done precisely that.

Once again we wonder at the fact that history can be thrust into an entirely different chronological setting with so little disruption. With the 25th dynasty displaced by 121 years Taharka becomes a contemporary of Nebuchadrezzar rather than Ashurbanipal; the initial years of his reign synchronous with Nebuchadrezzar's mania; his 6th year, the year of the great flood and the lamented loss of territory which immediately followed, with the conjectured time of Nebuchadrezzar's invasion; and his 27th year with the time of transition between Babylonian and Persian dominion over Egypt. We are thus able to explain Taharka's claim to be ruler of Assur and his later reputation as a great conqueror. We can read between the lines of Taharka's lament inscription and explain the three-year delay in celebrating the completion of the Kawa temple. We can explain why the majority of Taharka's constructions date early in his reign and why Taharka was such a prolific builder in Nubia. Excavation details, otherwise unexplained, loose their mystique - the presence of a temple to Banit in Syene, the seeming lack of a Persian occupation level in the Tahpanhes excavations, statues of Taharka in Nineveh.

Almost incidentally our discussion has vindicated Ezekiel, whose words - "no foot of man or beast will walk there" - misconstrued by twentieth century critics, have been wrongly held to scorn. Taharka's character is likewise redeemed. His statuette is precisely what it claimed to be, a straightforward recitation of the extent of his kingdom. What needs to be questioned is not the essential reliability of the biblical text, but the unwarranted cynicism of contemporary scholars

Chapter 5: Repair & Restoration (543-525 B.C.)

Cyrus King of Egypt

In 550 B.C. Cyrus, king of Anshan, dethroned his maternal grandfather Astyages, son of Cyaxares, king of Media, uniting the adjoining kingdoms of Parsua and Media. Four years later, in 546 B.C., after a stalemate land battle near the Halys River in central Anatolia, Cyrus overran the Lydian capital at Sardis. Croesus, the Lydian king, was either captured or killed. Encouraged by his initial triumphs Cyrus laid plans to extend his fledgling Medo-Persian empire. He left to Harpagus, one of his generals, the task of defeating the Greek Ionian and Aeolian colonies of western Asia Minor. Meanwhile he laid plans for the ultimate conquest, the neo-Babylonian kingdom ruled by the eccentric Nabonidus. His was no idle dream, but a firm resolve backed by military and diplomatic skill that became the subject of legends for later generations. And he was ultimately successful. Within a decade of his initial success against Lydia, Cyrus ruled the Near East from the Aegean to India.

First on his agenda after Lydia were Egypt and Babylon. According to Herodotus:

> "For Babylon was an obstacle (to his plans) as was the Bactrian nation and the Sacae and Egyptians; against these he purposed to lead his army personally and to send another commander against the Ionians." (Her. 1.153)

That these intentions were carried out is implied by Herodotus, who proceeds immediately in the narrative to describe the activities of Harpagus and then abruptly turns his attention to the conquest of Babylon. In the interim we can assume he conquered Egypt. There is a clear and systematic development in Herodotus, who describes the growth of the Persian Empire from west to east. We are not left to speculate on why Herodotus fails to describe the fall of Egypt. The rationale for its omission is spelled out.

> Harpagus then made havoc of lower Asia; in the upper country Cyrus himself subdued every nation, leaving none untouched. Of the greater part of these I will say nothing, but *will speak only of those which gave Cyrus most trouble* and are worthiest to be described. When Cyrus had brought all the mainland under his sway, he attacked the Assyrians (=Babylonians). There are in Assyria many other great cities; but the most famous and the strongest was Babylon, where the royal dwelling had been set after the destruction of Ninus (=Nineveh) (Her. 1.177)(emphasis added)

There can be only one interpretation of Herodotus, namely, that Egypt was among the nations of the upper country subdued by Cyrus prior to his invasion of Babylon. Herodotus explains his failure to document the conquest. Apparently Egypt gave Cyrus no trouble and the (non-)event deserved no further comment. The Persian occupation of Egypt was unopposed. This is precisely what we expect if the revised history is correct. Egypt was a sparsely populated wasteland defended by a Babylonian army of

occupation, part of which, if we are to believe Xenophon, was sent across the Mediterranean to assist Croesus in his earlier battle with Cyrus. Many of these Egyptian mercenaries, whatever their nationality, remained permanently in Anatolia. Those left in Egypt would hardly be sufficient to contest the advance of the Persian army. Any native Egyptian conscripts are just as likely to have sided with Cyrus than to have opposed him. The invasion of Tanuatamon that immediately preceded the arrival of Cyrus informs us clearly that Egypt was not heavily defended.

But we do not have to depend on Herodotus for this conjecture. The change from Babylonian to Persian control of Egypt during the reign of Cyrus is explicitly stated by Xenophon.

Xenophon

Xenophon, an Athenian, was born around 444 B.C. As a youth he was a student of Socrates; rather late in life he joined the army. When Darius II died in 404 B.C. his son Artaxerxes II succeeded him. A second son named Cyrus, satrap in Anatolia, challenged the appointment and led an army against Artaxerxes. Xenophon was persuaded to serve in the Greek contingent of Cyrus' army. At Cunaxa a battle was engaged, Cyrus was killed, and the remnant of the mercenary army of Cyrus was dispersed. Xenophon's reputation is founded largely on his detailed description of the laborious retreat of the defeated forces along the Tigris through Armenia to Trapezus on the Black Sea and back home. This classic story, *The Anabasis*, was but one in an extensive list of the literary works of Xenophon. We are here concerned rather with his account of the life of Cyrus - the *Cyropaedia*.

Twice is this lengthy biography of Cyrus, once in the opening and once in the concluding sections, Xenophon describes the extent of the Persian Empire. At the outset of the book the claim is made that

> Cyrus, finding the nations in Asia also independent in exactly the same way, started out with a little band of Persians and became the leader of the Medes by their full consent and of the Hyrcanians by theirs; he then conquered Syria, Assyria, Arabia, Cappadocia, both Phrygias, Lydia, Caria, Phoenicia, and Babylonia; he ruled also over Bactria, India, and Cilicia; and he was likewise king of the Sacians, Paphlagonians, Magadidae, and very many other nations, of which one could not even tell the names; he brought under his sway the Asiatic Greeks also, and, descending to the sea, he added both Cyprus and Egypt to his empire. (Cyr. I.1.4)

Again at the end of the narrative Xenophon states:

> Now, when the year had gone round, he collected his army together at Babylon, containing, it is said, about one hundred and twenty thousand horse, about two

> thousand scythe-bearing chariots and about six hundred thousand foot. And when these had been made ready for him, he started out on that expedition on which he is said to have subjugated all the nations that fill the earth from where one leaves Syria even to the Indian Ocean. His next expedition is said to have gone to Egypt and to have subjugated that country also. From that time on his empire was bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, and on the south by Ethiopia. (Cyr. VIII.6.19,20)

The claim is made by scholars that these statements by Xenophon stand in conflict with the combined testimony of Herodotus and Ktesias, both of whom credit Cambyses, not Cyrus, with the conquest of Egypt. As a result, at least in respect to his remarks concerning Egypt, Xenophon is discredited. But we have already noted that Herodotus book one contains at minimum the suggestion that *Cyrus* conquered Egypt and we have previously argued that the Cambyses narrative in Herodotus chapter three is the product of a later age. We have also expressed the conviction, yet to be defended, that in fact Ktesias does not credit Cambyses with the conquest of Egypt, in spite of scholarly statements to the contrary. Ktesias has been misrepresented, as explained in the following chapter.

At the turn of the twentieth century Georges Radet expressed the opinion that scholars were overly dismissive of Xenophon's remarks vis-à-vis Egypt.[183] After all, he argued, "this summary of the enterprises of Cyrus and the listing of the limits of his Empire agree with all that we know of oriental history, except in one point". The exceptional point, of course, was Xenophon's claim of Persian suzerainty over Egypt. Radet, for one, was convinced that Xenophon must be taken seriously. He argued that since Egypt and Babylon were part of a coalition with Croesus of Lydia against Cyrus, it is incomprehensible that Cyrus would ignore Egypt in the sequel to the Lydian war. "L'abstention de Cyrus a l'egard d'Ahmasis est une anomalie qu'on peut difficilement s'expliquer." The solution for Radet - who believed, following the traditional history, that Amasis ruled Egypt at this time - was to assume that Amasis accepted a nominal submission to Persia in order to stave off an impending Persian military advance on the country. Tribute was paid, but the country remained essentially independent.

Radet's arguments are valid, but his conclusion must be modified. Xenophon speaks of an expedition to conquer Egypt. His statements imply a physical conquest of the country extending into Upper Egypt, as far as the border of Ethiopia. In the revised history we are at liberty to take Xenophon at face value. The introductory passage in the *Cyropaedia* suggests that Cyrus's conquest of Egypt followed his victories over the Asiatic Greeks. The second passage, rephrased, may well suggest that the Egyptian victory was among his first. Allowing three years for the military suppression of Asia

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[183] Georges Radet, "La Premiere Incorporation De L'Egypte," Revue des Etudes Anciennes 11 (1909) 201-210.

Minor, Phoenicia, and Cyprus, we can reasonably date Cyrus'sl conquest of Egypt to 543 B.C.

In our brief discussion of Tanuatamon's 543 B.C. invasion of the Delta we observed that Lower Egypt was then controlled by local officials subservient to the Babylonian occupation force. Of these princes only Pakruru was named. We must assume that Psamtik was among the otherwise anonymous officials who grovelled before the Ethiopian king, or, following Herodotus, that he had been temporarily removed from power in Sais by the Babylonian authority (see below). With the arrival of the mercenary army of Cyrus later that same year Tanuatamon fled to Thebes and perhaps exited Egypt altogether. Psamtik was elevated above his peers to govern the newly constituted Persian province. Thus began the 26th Saite dynasty.

Rise of Psamtik I

Psamtik According to Herodotus

Very few details are known of the 54-year reign of Wahibre Psamtik I. That fact alone should cause historians to wonder. He must have been a great military leader to have succeeded in repelling the powerful army of Ashurbanipal in 664 B.C., an army that had no problem driving from Thebes the enigmatic Tanuatamon, whose army numbered in the "millions and hundreds of thousands". If Psamtik's dates are correct, and he reigned from 664-610 B.C., then he must have been at minimum eighty years old in the years 616-610 B.C. when, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, the Egyptian army, now allied with Assyria, was assisting its former enemy against the rising power of Nabopolassar's neo-Babylonian empire. We can only imagine what military exploits filled the historical interlude between these two extremes.

Unfortunately Psamtik's modesty must have rivalled his assumed military prowess. He left to posterity not a single inscription boasting of his military achievements. When we examine below the few existing monuments and historical anecdotes related to his reign we will find recorded the activities of a skilled diplomat rather than the conquests of an ambitious king.

All that is known of the rise of Psamtik comes from the "*Saite history*" of Herodotus (II.1.147-155). We are informed from this *history* that Psamtik's father Nikos was killed by the Ethiopian king Sabacos, that Psamtik subsequently sought refuge in Syria from whence he was later summoned by the inhabitants of Sais. At the time of his return Egypt was governed by twelve kings, of whom only the name of Psamtik is preserved. These rival chieftains subsequently challenged Psamtik's authority and he was driven from Sais into the marshes of the western Delta. From this temporary exile, and with the help of Ionian and Carian soldiers who by chance arrived on the Egyptian coast, Psamtik returned to defeat his deposers and claim for himself sole rule of the country.

From this lengthy tale, considerably embellished with folkloric anecdotes, the traditional history is able to salvage only the barest of detail in defence of its hypothetical reconstruction. Psamtik's flight to Syria, his secondary installation in Sais at the behest of its inhabitants, and his subsequent banishment by delta kinglets, are totally inconsistent with the historical situation which prevailed while the Assyrians ruled Egypt prior to 664 B.C. Contemporary historians reject them outright. The lack of any mention of the occupying Assyrian army is equally problematic. In but a single point can the reputation of Herodotus be partially rehabilitated. He claims that Psamtik came to power the last time with the assistance of Ionian Greeks and Carians, and it is argued that this reflects a memory of the troops sent by Gyges, the Lydian king, to assist Psamtik in his successful coup. But we have already expressed our disdain for that highly questionable interpretation of the Assyrian annals. And we wonder why Herodotus refers specifically to Ionian and Carian, rather than Lydian troops.

In the revised history it is immediately apparent that Herodotus has access to reliable historical records. Nikos, the father of Psamtik, could well have been killed by Shabataka (not Shabaka) many years before Psamtik's sole reign. Shabataka died in 569 B.C. Psamtik's reign began 26 years later and lasted 54 years (543-489 B.C.) [184] Having said that, we believe it more likely that Psamtik's father died at the time of Nebuchadrezzar's invasion Some confirmation of this fact is forthcoming later in this chapter, where we argue that Psamtik, at least once in his life, dated his reign from 563 B.C., rather than 543 B.C., a possible reference to the date of his father's death.

Neither is there a problem in Psamtik's Syrian exile, his summons to return to Sais as king, or in his later flight from the Delta kings. The twenty-year rule of Babylon over Egypt (564-543 B.C.) must have witnessed considerable variation in administrative structure. Psamtik's return to Sais as a local administrator would pose no problem for Babylon so long as tribute was collected and routinely paid. Withholding those taxes might well have necessitated subsequent flight and temporary exile.

If Psamtik's elevation to power with the help of Ionian and Carian troops can be claimed as partial vindication of the traditional history it can, *a fortiori*, substantially argue the case for the revised history. When Cyrus overran Egypt in 543 B.C. it was precisely Ionian and Carian troops that he had at his disposal. And we can be certain that if Psamtik had recently been driven from Egypt by a syndicate of Delta chieftains, the arrival of Cyrus's Ionian and Carian army was his vehicle to reinstatement. This coincidental mention of Ionians and Carians by Herodotus deserves special mention. We digress momentarily to set the stage.

It is Herodotus who provides the details concerning the makeup of Cyrus's army. He tells us that following his victory over Croesus in 546 B.C., Cyrus left his general

[184] If Psamtik was born ca. 575 B.C. then he would have been 86 when he died. There is no problem with this advanced age in the revised history. It accords well with the activities of his son Wahemibre Necao discussed in a later chapter of this revision.

Harpagus to complete the subjugation of the Ionians of western Anatolia[185]. He then describes in great detail the ensuing fall of the Ionian and Aeolian city-states.[186] Then, moving south and east, Harpagus proceeded to invade Caria.

> Harpagus, after subduing Ionia, made an expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking with him Ionians and Aeolians. Now among these the Carians were a people who had come to the mainland from the islands (Her I.171)

This Carian expedition (Her. I.171-177) was followed by the conquest of the balance of the Anatolian states bordering on the Mediterranean eastward. While Harpagus was thus engaged in southeastern Asia Minor, Cyrus proceeded to conquer the nations of the upper country, which included Egypt according to the argument proposed earlier in this chapter.

Thus we are informed by Herodotus that only months before Cyrus invaded Egypt his army was augmented by mercenary troops of seafaring Ionians and Carians. The time was midway between the fall of Lydia in 546 B.C. and the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C., thus around 543 B.C. According to the revised history, also informed by Herodotus, Psamtik I rose to power in Egypt with the assistance of Ionian and Carian mercenary troops. In the revised history the time was 543 B.C. Coincidence?

At minimum we are encouraged by the correspondence between Herodotus and the revised chronology.

Recovery and Restoration

With the arrival of Cyrus in Egypt, and the installation of Psamtik as a puppet king/governor with residence in Sais, there began a prolonged period of restoration in Egypt. In the monuments left by those engaged in this recovery effort we find clear testimony to the widespread destruction wrought by Nebuchadrezzar and to the prolonged Babylonian occupation of the country that followed. The intent of the balance of this chapter is to document these eyewitness accounts. But there is a problem.

In the traditional history the reign of Psamtik I began immediately following the Assyrian invasions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. It follows therefore that monuments dated to the early years of Psamtik I should be expected to contain references to pervasive destruction and the occupation of Egypt by a foreign army. Unless we can somehow distinguish the Assyrian and Babylonian invasions we will not be able to use the invasion references to further our argument positively. Thus the following tables (Tables 10 & 11) which contrast the history of the recovery period in the traditional and revised histories.

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[185] Her I.153
[186] Her I.154-170

Table 10: End of the 25th Dynasty – Traditional History

671	Esarhaddon invaded Egypt and established twenty "kings" as local administrators, including Mantimanhe (Mentuemhet?) in Thebes.
667	Ashurbanipal invaded Egypt (1st invasion) to put down an insurrection fomented by Tarqu (Taharka?). There is no indication in the Assyrian annals that Thebes was invaded at this time, much less that the temples of the Nile valley were looted or destroyed. (Based entirely on one secondary source - the inscriptions of Mentuemhet - the claim is made by some scholars that the Assyrians did in fact decimate and plunder the south of Egypt, including Thebes, at this time. If so, then Mentuemhet immediately set about restoring Upper Egypt.)
666	Several of the local kings/administrators planned yet another coup, sending representatives south to Taharka to seek his assistance. It appears that Taharka at this time resided in Thebes. The planned rebellion was discovered and the Assyrian reprisal was severe, but limited to the Delta. Niku, Sharruludari, and Pakruru were taken to Thebes. Taharka is not mentioned again in the Assyrian annals.
665	Niku was returned to Sais with increased authority and prestige.
664	Early in the year Urdamanie (Tanuatamon?) led an army from the south (Thebes?) to invade the Delta. Ashurbanipal responded (2nd invasion) and drove the intruder from the Delta, following him south to Thebes. Thebes (recently restored by Mentuemhet?) was (once again?) sacked and looted and Tanuatamon escaped into Nubia, only to return when the Assyrians lost control of Egypt later in the year. There is no record in the Assyrian annals of any destruction to cultic centers in central Egypt between Memphis and Thebes. Some scholars date these events to 663 B.C., rather than 664 B.C.
664/3	Late in the 664 B.C. or early the next year, according to the scholars, Psamtik son of Niku wrested control of the Delta from the lightly defended Assyrian garrison and began his lengthy reign of 54 years.
664/3-656/5	Urdamanie (Tanuatamon?) continued to hold power in Thebes until shortly before Psamtik's 9th year, the time of the well-documented enthronement of Psamtik's daughter Nitocris as protégé of the god's wife in Thebes. During this time Psamtik is considered to be consolidating his authority in Lower Egypt.
656	Psamtik assumed control of Upper Egypt in his 9th year. It is not known what became of Tanuatamon.

Table 11: End of the 25th Dynasty – Revised History

564	Nebuchadrezzar invaded Lower Egypt late in Taharka's 6th year. Resulting death and deportation decimated the population. Temples were destroyed. Priests were murdered or exiled. Taharka was driven south into Thebes.
563	Cultic centers in Egypt from Memphis to Thebes were looted and plundered as Nebuchadrezzar moved south. The priesthood was all but annihilated. Thebes was attacked and destroyed. Taharka escaped into Nubia. Babylonian garrisons were established at Old Cairo (Egyptian Babylon) in Lower Egypt and in Syene/Elephantine in Upper Egypt. There may well have been additional troops stationed in Marea and Migdol in the western and eastern Delta respectively.
563-543	Egypt remained desolate with a sparse population, heavily taxed by the Babylonian authorities. Temple worship all but ceased, though a few priests survived the invasion. Limited activity is registered in the Serapeum. Details are lacking concerning the nature of the administrative structure of the occupation force, but from Herodotus and the Dream Stela of Tanuatamon there might well have been twelve "kings" (or mayors) functioning much as did the twenty "kings" in the days of Ashurbanipal. Many surviving Egyptians may have been conscripted into the Babylonian army garrisoned in Egypt. Some of these forces were sent to assist Croesus in Lydia in 546 B.C. They did not return.
543	Death and defection of Egyptian mercenaries in Anatolia had seriously weakened the Babylonian garrisons in Egypt. Additionally some troops may have been recalled to defend Babylon, leaving the local administrators/mayors with little military support. Taharka died early in this, his 27th year. Tanuatamon invaded Egypt and received a hero's welcome. The first phase of the exile had ended. Cyrus sent a Persian army to Egypt, augmented by a combined Ionian/Carian naval force. Tanuatamon retreated to the south, probably exiting Egypt entirely. Egypt became, throughout its length, a Persian province. Cyrus set up Psamtik as governor. From the outset Psamtik was a king, inheriting pharaonic titles from his father. He dated his rule from 543 B.C. A fort was built at Daphne and manned with Greek mercenaries. Old Cairo, Marea, and Elephantine were garrisoned.
543-525	Restoration work was underway. Temples were rebuilt and temple worship re-instituted. Petesi, Mentuemhet, and Petosiris were active in Teuzoi, Thebes, and Hermopolis Magna respectively, and their monuments provide vivid testimony to the extent of the destruction wrought by Nebuchadrezzar.

Petition of Petesi

In the John Rylands library in Manchester reside a group of nine papyri dated to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Their dates are determined by their connection to Saite dynasty kings from Psamtik 1 through Amasis. In the revised chronology they date therefore from the late 6th through the 5th century. The papyri are part of a single collection of a priestly family, which settled at Teuzoi, a site on the eastern bank of the Nile south of Memphis, better known in antiquity as el-Hibeh. Our attention focuses on a single one of these papyri. In the words of the editor F. Ll. Griffith "by far the most important of the papyri from El Hibeh is the great roll of the Petition or memorial of Petesi, nearly 4 1/4 metres or 14 feet in length, and closely written over the whole of the recto and five-sixths of the verso."[187] There are four principal divisions of this lengthy document. Three are of interest.

The first five columns describe the harsh treatment afforded a certain priest Petesi in the years immediately following the 9th year of Darius. Griffith summarizes their content as:

> Events of the 9th and following years of Darius, viz. Petesi's unwilling evidence on the causes of the ruin of Teuzoi, his sufferings and imprisonment, followed by a murderous attack on him by the priests: his petition to the "Governor" or satrap (?) for protection, the revengeful burning of his house, the end being his return to Teuzoi, after more than a year's absence, under a guarantee of safety and protection, but without compensation for the injuries done to him or any attention to the rights which he claimed through his ancestors in the temple of Teuzoi. Petition 30

This portion of the narrative, from the point of view of the present revision, raises but a single question. Is this harsh treatment afforded Petesi taking place in the reign of Darius I or Darius II. The question is not actually raised by Griffith . Assuming a history in which Egypt is ruled sequentially by Amasis, Cambyses and Darius, it must be Darius I since the second part of the narrative mentions the 44th year of Amasis in some connection with an individual named Kamoze (kmdj?) who, in this context, can only refer to Cambyses. We have the same problem occurring here as was seen in the Demotic Chronicle (cf. chapter 2). This is not the place to pursue the matter. We will return to the subject in chapter 11. For the record it should be stated, however, that in the opinion of this author the incident took place in the reign of Darius II.

This first portion of the narrative makes reference to a petition sent to the Governor or satrap by Petesi (III). This petition apparently reviewed significant events in the Petesi

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[187] F. Ll. Griffith, *The Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester ,* 1909, p. 60. Griffith provides a translation of the entire papyrus on pages 60-112 and quotations from this translation are subsequently noted simply as Petition (page no.).

family history that were considered crucial in establishing Petesi's right to the priesthood at Teuzoi, a central issue in his complaint. The second or ensuing portion of the narrative appears to be a copy of that petition. This family history continues for sixteen columns, documenting events from the 4th year of Psamtik through the entire Saite dynasty to the 4th year of Kamoze. It is highly entertaining reading. It is also at times confusing. There are many Petesi's and Essemteu's, a hereditary sequence of patronyms in the Petesi family. We avoid the problem by restricting our discussion to the first generation, that of Petesi I, the great-great-grandfather of Petesi III. Thus the petition of Petesi III begins:

> To inform the governor of the events that happened unto my father (= forefather Petesi I): In the 4th year of Per'o Psammtek the elder, Ptores was in the charge of Peteesi, son of 'Ankhsheshonk, the Master of Shipping, from the southern guard-house (?) of Memfi unto Suan.

We have seen all these place names before. Psamtik 1 has appointed a certain Petesi, son of Ankhsheshonk, to regulate shipping between the two garrisons at Memphis (Memfi) and Syene ((As)suan/Elephantine). Ptores is the Pathros of Jeremiah, usually translated Upper Egypt. The 4th year of Psamtik in our reconstruction is 540 B.C. We are twenty-four years into the Egyptian exile.

Petesi, son of Ankhsheshonk, is not the patriarch Petesi I, and is mentioned in our discussion primarily because he features in secondary problem to be considered later. The patriarch Petesi (I), son of Ieturou, appears immediately as the assistant of Petesi, son of Ankhsheshonk, the master of shipping. The master of shipping is old and asks Psamtik for relief, recommending his assistant Petesi (I) for the job. Already, in his duties under the shipping master, Petesi (I) has been able to increase food production and state revenue by fifty percent.

> I have a colleague named Peteesi son of Ieturou; he it is that administers (?) Ptores and fosters its silver and its boti-corn: and it hath come to pass that Ptores is very prosperous; its silver and its boti have made one into one-and-a-half. Let him be brought before Per'o, let a good thing be said unto him before Per'o, let it be said unto him, Ptores is committed unto thee," it being committed unto me also ... Petition 78-9

In spite of his request for relief the master of shipping retained his job, but Petesi (I) assumed most of the work load, including the inspection of sites along the Nile from Memphis to Syene. Petesi, the shipping master, went into semi-retirement in Hnes.

> Peteesi son of Ieturou came southward, inspecting, from the southern guardhouse unto Suan; (but) Peteesi son of 'Ankhsheshonk, the Master of the Shipping, settled in Hnes and report was rendered to him of everything that happened in Ptores.

The narrative quickly focuses on Teuzoi, the ancestral home of Petesi (III).

> Peteesi son of Ieturou reached Teuzoi: he went to the temple and inspected every place that was in the temple of Teuzoi. And behold he found the temple of Teuzoi to be in the style of a very large House, but that it was *short of men*: he found *not a man in the temple except one aged priest* and a (shrine)-opener. And Peteesi son of Ieturou caused the priest to be brought, and said to him, 'Behold, since thou art not deficient in age, tell me, I pray, *the manner in which this town hath been destroyed*.' And the priest said unto him, 'The thing hath happened (in this wise?): No man was priest here except the priests of Amenra'senter; but your ancestors were priests here, and they made this fane glorious with all things: endowment-estates in abundance were appropriated to Amun of Teuzoi, and this House was spoken of as the first (?) seat of Amenra'senter. When that *evil time* came the great fanes (i.e. temples) of Kemi (=Egypt) were made to pay taxes, and this town was burdened, and they departed away. And behold, though discharge hath been made unto the great fanes of Kemi, they come to us saying, "Produce (your) taxes " until now. Petition 79,80 (italics added)

Several things are clear from the narrative to date. Egypt has endured an "evil time" before which the temples were prosperous and for the most part exempt from taxes. During this "evil time" taxes were re-imposed. The priests "departed away." After this "evil time", and synchronous with the arrival of Psamtik I, the tax-exempt status of the temples was reintroduced. But by some oversight, or mischief, taxes continued to be levied on Teuzoi. The fact that Psamtik I initiated the taxation reforms is made clear on a stela inscription described later in the Petition: "His Majesty was comforting the land, suppressing the rebels (?) in it, provisioning all the temples of the South and North lands." (Petition 108)

If this is what the Petition says, then under no circumstance can it be squared with the traditional history, wherein Psamtik I, within a year of the battle between Urdamanie and Ashurbanipal, drove the Assyrians out of Egypt. That circumstance would leave no time for the imposition of taxes on the temples of Upper Egypt. Ashurbanipal's second invasion in 564 B.C., which must have resulted *inter alia* in the destruction of Teuzoi, occurred only months before the successful coup of Psamtik I.

The narrative in the Petition produces the distinct impression that the "evil time" was of long duration. An entire generation is missing from the record. Peteesi appears ignorant of what has transpired in Teuzoi, though his ancestors were formerly priests there. Where was he when these events transpired? Why did he not learn the details from his father Essemteu? In fact, where is Essemteu? Later in the narrative Petesi meets an itinerant priest named Haruaz son of Peftu'ubasti, who claims that his father was also at one time a priest in Teuzoi. He is young and anxious to marry a daughter of Peteesi. All he can do to prove his heritage is produce documents which attest his father's priesthood. "My father used to be priest here in Teuzoi, and I will show unto his Honour that he used

to be priest here, I will bring the patents of my father before his Honour" (Petition 83) What happened to Peftu'ubasti, the father of Haruaz? In the quoted portion of the narrative, the solitary aged priest holding the fort in Teuzoi laments that all the priests in all the "great fanes (=temples) of Kemi (=Egypt)" departed away. Where did they go? Does the narrative not suggest some mass exodus or endemic slaughter? If we are in the time of the Assyrian occupation and the priests have fled the scene only months before, why do they not simply return?

Even the phrase "evil time" is problematic. Griffiths, in a footnote, remarks:

> The Coptic equivalent means "famine" but at this time the meaning may have been wider and the expression may refer to some of the disasters that had lately overtaken Egypt at the hands of invaders, which might well have produced famine also. The exaction of tribute by the Assyrians probably involved the taxation of the temples. Teuzoi, as devoted to Ammon, may have sided with the Ethiopians against Necos and his son Psammetichus, who were nominally supported by the Assyrians, and this may have led to the contribution from Teuzoi not being remitted. But historical facts do not count for much in this part of the narrative. Petition 80

We understand why Griffith is compelled ultimately to discount the historicity of the Petesi narrative. It does not fit the circumstances of the 7th century context in which it is wrongly placed.

Petesi III discovered the sacred city of Teuzoi destroyed. That destruction must have involved an associated loss of life. It was followed by a prolonged period of famine and excessive taxation that combined to decimate the remaining population. And the narrative is clear that Teuzoi was not alone in suffering this fate. It is incomprehensible why Griffith would restrict his comments to that one locale. Priests vacated "all the temples of Egypt." The scene thus pictured suits the revised history; it conflicts significantly with the current history. Griffiths is uneasy about the translation. He changes "famine" to "evil time" to fit his conception of history. But he remains unconvinced. The reliability of the narrative is finally called into question.

We recall the warning of Jeremiah to the survivors of the Judaean disaster:

> If you are determined to go to Egypt and you do go to settle there, then the sword you fear will overtake you there, and the famine you dread will follow you into Egypt, and there you will die. Indeed all who are determined to go to Egypt to settle there will die by the sword, famine and plague... Jer 42:15-17.

There is no need to emend "famine" to "evil time".

The narrative continues. During the next decade Petesi is busy restoring the fortunes of the temple of Teuzoi. He had to go far and wide to find the appropriate help.

> Peteesi son of Ieturou came to Teuzoi, he caused the men to be brought who did handicraft, and gave them 200 pieces of refined(?) silver and 20 pieces of gold, he caused them to make them into cups of silver and gold for Amun, he caused them to make the shrine of Amun upon-the-great-place. He caused the priests, the shrine-openers, and the other classes (?) of men who (are qualified to?) enter the temple to be brought to Teuzoi; (even) if there was a man among them who had gone as far as No [Thebes] he caused all to be brought. He caused the endowment-estates which he found to have been appropriated to Amun to be given, and he caused 1000 aruras to be added to the endowment-estates of Amun. He caused offerings and linen to be laid before Amun and before Usiri of Ieruoz(?). He made Teuzoi glorious like one of the great fanes of Ptores. He made his children priests of Amun of Teuzoi ... Petition 81

By the 14th year of Psamtik (530 B.C.) the restoration is complete, and Petesi

> "caused a tablet of stone of Ieb to be quarried and the blocks for two statues of temgy-stone, and caused them to be brought to Teuzoi. He came north and reached Teuzoi, he caused the granite-workers, the engravers, the scribes of the House of Life, and the draughtsmen to be brought. He caused the good deed that he had done in Teuzoi to be put upon the tablet..." Petition 81-2

We are nearing the end of the Egyptian exile. Restoration is underway elsewhere in Egypt that invites our attention. Mentuemhet is active in Thebes, but before moving to Thebes two further items from the Petition need to be mentioned.

Psamtik's 34th Year

The stone tablet erected by Petesi in the 14th year of Psamtik (tablet A) was maliciously destroyed in Psamtik's 31st year. In that same 31st year the two sons of Haruaz, grandsons of Petesi, were murdered by the same delinquent priests who damaged the year 14 stela. In the course of pursuing the prosecution of these priests Petesi took time to order the construction of a replacement stela, altered slightly to include the priestly offices he had omitted from the original. In the narrative this commissioning of a new stela (tablet B) preceded the burial of the two youths. Since, according to Egyptian practice, burial took place seventy days following death, allowing time for mummification, we can assume the youths were buried that same 31st year. It is surprising therefore to read Griffith's footnote to the passage which describes the erection of the replacement stela:

> This is the inscription of Athyr of year 34 ... The date is two and a half years after the outrage, and that although the inscription was engraved before the boys were buried. Petition 91 n.9

What is happening? To understand Griffith's remarks we are forced to look at the third division of the Petition, heretofore ignored. That section records the content of the two stelae mentioned above, those of the 14th and the 31st years, tablets A and B. The Petesi family records are thorough. Both stela inscriptions were meticulously copied and records preserved, rather fortunate since even the second stela was damaged later. The problem that confronted Griffith was two-fold. In the first place, the second stela inscription was dated to Psamtik's 34th year, not his 31st. But the narrative that gave rise to the footnote states that the two sons of Haruaz had yet to be buried at the time the stela was erected. In the second place, the two stelae were identical save, as the narrative stated, the addition of some previously omitted particulars regarding Petesi's former offices on the second stela. There was nothing inscribed on tablet B to indicate that it was a replacement and that the date recorded on it was unrelated to the circumstances it described. Both tablets are worded as if written in the year 14.

The first problem Griffith handled by assuming that the second stela was actually created in Petesi's 34th year, the year actually inscribed on the stela, and that, therefore, the burial of two boys had been delayed for 2 1/2 years!

Regarding the second problem he could only lament:

> But if these tablets are genuine and correctly copied it is a very serious matter to students of Egyptian history to find that the date on a tablet can have so little to do with the time of the events recorded upon it, as must be the case in B. The date turns out to be merely the date when the inscription was engraved, and the events recorded on it had taken place at least sixteen, perhaps thirty, years before. Petition 107

Griffith's problems can be dealt with routinely in the revised history. When Psamtik was installed in office in 543 B.C., however that happened, he was succeeding no-one. Pharaonic rule in Egypt had been in abeyance for over twenty years. According to Manetho, Psamtik was the son of a king Necao. As previously argued, Necao may have perished in Nebuchadrezzar's assault or have been driven from the Delta along with his infant son Psamtik. In either case we can assume he died in 563 B.C. It is entirely possible that Psamtik, at some time between his 14th and 31st year, decided to backdate the years of his reign, as sole surviving son, to the last year of his deceased father. On the second stela he recorded what was formerly his 14th year, as his 34th year. The two dates on the respective stelae are the same; they are merely calculated in different ways. Both refer to the 14th year of Psamtik. Griffith's fears are unfounded.

There is, accordingly, no need to assume a delay of over two years in the burial of the sons of Haruaz. The second stela was erected in the 31st year of Psamtik as anticipated by the narrative. The date on stela B does not refer to the date of erection of that stela.

Psamtik was not the only Pharaoh to variously date events in his reign. Nothing is amiss. The Petition history is vindicated.

Samtoutefnakht & The Nitocris Stela

The second problem is related to an event that took place in Psamtik's 18th year. In that year, according to the Petition, Peteesi, son of Ankhsheshonk, the master of shipping died, and "Per'o made Semtutefnakhti Master of the Shipping, and Ptores was committed to him again even as it had been to his father". (Petition 85) It is possible, of course, that the 18th year date is recorded in error, but there is independent confirmation in the Petition that the date is reasonably correct.[188] And therein lies the problem.

There are few monuments extant from the reign of Psamtik I. Thus the importance of a large red granite stela, 6 foot high and 4 1/2 foot wide, found by Legrain at Karnak in 1897. "It records the adoption of Nitocris, the daughter of Psamtik I, by a Shepnupet, daughter of Taharka, the Divine Votress or sacerdotal princess, at Thebes." and it functions as a formal "decree of adoption and property-conveyance." Its value for history lies in revealing "that Psamtik had gained full control of Thebes by his ninth year..." (BAR 935-937)

For reasons that will soon become apparent we question the dating of the Nitocris stela. It is our opinion that the events it portrays took place in Psamtik's 30th year (514 B.C.) rather than his 9th year (535 B.C.). The argument is not essential to the revised chronology, but since we are revising history, we should set the record straight in all respects. Part of the proof of our claim is related to Samtoutefnakht.

The introductory portion of the stela is missing. The visible portion begins with the statement:

> In the year 9, first month of the first season (first month), day 28, went forth his eldest daughter from the king's family apartments, clad in fine linen, and newly adorned with malachite. The attendants conducting her were legion in number, and 8 marshals cleared the path, for beginning the goodly way to the harbor, to turn up-stream for Thebes. The vessels bearing her were very numerous, the crews were mighty men; and they were deeply laden [to the decks] with every good thing of the king's palace. The commander thereof was the sole companion, nomarch of Heracleopolis, commander in chief of the army, chief of the harbor, Somtous-Tefnakhte. ... BAR 944

The problem is readily apparent. Somtous-Tefnakhte of the Nitocris Stela is the same as Semtutefnakhti of the Petition and he is in office in the 9th year of an unnamed king. If this king is Psamtik I then the installation of Samtoutefnakht as master of shipping must

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[188] The fact that Samtoutefnackht was installed in office in the 18th year of Psamtik is supported by the two tablet discussed in the previous section. On both of the stela inscriptions A and B, which are dated in Psamtik's 14th (= 34th) year, Petesi son of Ankhsheshonk is still alive and functioning as the shipping master. His death and the installation of Samtoutefnakht as Master of Shipping must certainly postdate Psamtik's 14th year.

have occurred a decade earlier than indicated by the Petesi family records. It is assumed by scholars that the error lies in those family records, but in fact the error lies in the interpretation of the Nitocris stela.[189] There is nothing in that stela that clearly specifies whose 9th year is being discussed. No king's name is mentioned in the dateline. Psamtik's name occurs elsewhere in the inscription. The identification of the dateline with Psamtik is an inference made by scholars, not one demanded by the inscription. In fairness to the interpreters there was no alternative. In the traditional history, where Psamtik was the uncontested ruler of Egypt, the dateline must relate to him. But that is not the case with the Saite dynasty correctly positioned in the first Persian domination. The dateline must refer to the years of Darius I (522-486 B.C.) not Psamtik I (543-489 B.C.). The 9th year of Darius, 514 B.C., is the 30th year of Psamtik I. Samtoutefnakht has been in office, as the Petition of Petesi claims, since Psamtik's 18th year (524 B.C.), that is, for over a decade. His titles have clearly expanded in the interim. The prosperity of Egypt has at least partially returned. The exile has ended.

The revised dating of the Nitocris stela has been made not merely to defend the integrity of the Petition of Petesi. There is a secondary purpose. For were we to read on in the Nitocris inscription we would find among the list of celebrities greeting Nitocris on her arrival in Thebes, the 4th prophet of Amun, Mentuemhet. It is imperative that the record be set straight on the life of this important dignitary.

Mentuemhet

Twice already Mentuemhet has appeared in this revision. In the traditional history he was identified as the Mantimanhe of the Assyrian annals, established as the nominal king of Thebes by Esarhaddon in 671 B.C. and affirmed in that office by 'Ashurbanipal in 667 B.C. In the Nitocris Adoption Stela he was present in Thebes to greet Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I, in what was purported to be Psamtik's 9th year, 656 B.C. At that time he is identified as the 4th prophet of Amun. He has left to posterity a considerable

[189] The stela needs to be completely reappraised. Several of the key figures have been misidentified. Pediamennebnesttawy, the third prophet of Amon, is not Pediamennebnesttawy C, father of the third prophet Hor xvii, but instead Pediamennebnesttawy D, Hor's son (cf. the genealogy in R.A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus From Thebes*, 1962, p. 23). Nesptah, chief of the prophets of Thebes and son of Mentuemhet, is arguably Nesptah C rather than Nesptah B, with whom he is usually identified (cf. the genealogy in Kitchen TIP 196). One of these sons with the title 4th prophet (probably Nesptah B) predeceased Mentuemhet according to two abnormal hieratic papyri (Vienna 12.002 and 12.003). He died some time prior to year 17 of Psamtik. For details cf. Parker, op.cit. signature 33, p.24. We assume Mentuemhet took the title of 4th prophet at this time and passed it to his second son, the Nesptah of the Nitocris stela, at his death. The scholars have also incorrectly identified the god's wives alluded to, but not named, in the stela. Nitocris is being adopted by Amenirdis II, not Shepenupet II. The latter either died at the time of the invasion or while in exile in Nubia. The entire argument deserves a separate treatment.

number of monuments, primarily in the vicinity of Thebes, and lengthy and detailed wall inscriptions in his spacious tomb in the Asasif, east of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahari. Nowhere does he refer to the Assyrians, and nowhere does he consider himself a king. But he does refer to a recent disaster which has severely damaged the southland. And he describes in detail the length process of restoration and renewal which has consumed years of his life.

Assuming for the moment that Ashurbanipal's "king" and the 4th prophet are one and the same, and that the Nitocris stela refers to Psamtik's 9th year, then Mentuemhet's political life spanned at minimum the years from 671 B.C. to 655 B.C. He is associated with Taharka on several monuments, and the assumption is made that the majority of his restoration activity occurred prior to Taharka's death. The reason is obvious. For upwards of eight years after Taharka's death and Psamtik's assumption of power in Lower Egypt, Tanuatamon is assumed to have held power in Thebes. But in his many inscriptions Mentuemhet refers to himself as governor of Upper Egypt, and he appears to make decisions independent of any higher local authority. He certainly does not mention Tanuatamon. His apparent independence suits best the interval in which he is "king" of Thebes, i.e. between 671 B.C. and 664 B.C. And those dates can be narrowed even further. Since restoration assumes destruction, and since Thebes was definitely not violated by Esarhaddon in 671 B.C., Mentuemhet's renewal activity must be dated between the 667 B.C. and the 664/3 B.C. invasions of Ashurbanipal, dates accepted by the majority of authors.[190][7] The Egyptologist Henry Breasted summarizes the reconstruction activity of Mentuemhet.

> The activity of Mentemhet in the building and restoration of the monuments under Taharka at Thebes renders his rule there notable. This work was all done before Taharka's death, and the renewal of so many costly cultus images of the gods, besides references to the purification of all the temples in the South, and vague allusions to a great catastrophe, make it extremely probably that the mooted capture and sack of Thebes (667 B.C.) in Ashurbanipal's first campaign, although not certain from his confused records, actually took place. BAR IV 902

We underscore the fact that Mentuemhet's acts of restoration are all dated within a four year period immediately prior to the 1st year of Psamtik I. Any time frame earlier or later than these dates would introduce a unique set of problems.[191] But there are at least

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[190] Jean Leclant is a rare exception to the rule in his *Montouemhat, Quatrieme Prophete D'Amon*, (1961), p.236, though he cites in support H. von Zeissl, *Aethiopen und Assyrer in Aegypten (1944)*, p.43f, and he notes (n.3) that some doubts had been expressed previously by G. Steindorff, Beitrage zur Assyriologie, I (1890), p. 355 and G. Reisner, The Harvard Theological Review, XIII (1920), p.36.

[191] Sufficient here to remark that not a single author, following the traditional history, has dated Mentuemhet's activity in the Saite period which supposedly followed Ashurbanipal's 664/3 B.C. invasion., in spite of the evidence from the Petition of Petesi that repairs to at least one temple

three major difficulties with this dating of Mentuemhet's work, specifically, 1) the altogether unwarranted assumption that Ashurbanipal destroyed the south of Egypt in 667 B.C.; 2) the very narrow window of opportunity during which the extensive repairs took place; and 3) the absence of any discernible motivation for extensive rebuilding at this time. We examine these three issues in the order named.

The Destruction of Thebes

All scholars are sensitive to the initial objection, including Breasted in his comments previously quoted. The Assyrian annals not only fail to describe a destruction and looting of Thebes in 667 B.C., but seem to rule out the fact when they make the point elsewhere that Thebes was destroyed and looted during Ashurbanipal's second invasion, dated 664 B.C. In spite of that fact the majority of scholars assume otherwise and continue to adhere to the 667-664/3 B.C. dates for Mentuemhet. A solitary objection is raised by no less an authority than Jean Leclant:

> If the text of Montuemhet is actually concerned with a series of restorations undertaken after the passage of the Assyrians, it is necessary to suppose that Thebes was taken a first time within the reign of Taharka, that is, a few years before its final fall, corresponding to the (time of) the flight and the death of its sovereign But the Assyrian texts in no way allow such a conjecture (Or les textes assyriens ne permettent nullement pareille conjecture); there was but a single taking of Thebes in 663 B.C. (il n'y a eu qu'une seule prise de Thebes en 663).[192]

Against the majority view Leclant, following von Zeissl, points out that Mentuemhet's work included repairs to the sacred lakes of the temples of Montou, of Mut, and of Isis, and that this damage can hardly be attributed to invading armies.[193] He notes additionally that in the inscriptions of Mentuemhet there is no clear reference to a foreign war, to a conquest, to a siege or even to pillage. The inscriptions contain only vague references to a time "when the entire land was turned upside down." In Leclant's opinion the damage that Mentuemhet set about restoring was caused several decades earlier, in the decadence and troubles that characterized the end of the 8th century.[194] There is no time to analyze Leclant's argument. He has a point. Mentuemhet does speak in generalities and some of Mentuemhet's energy may have been spent on objects damaged as much by neglect (the sacred lakes) as by maliciousness. But Leclant's interpretation is also open to criticism.

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were underway at that time. The misdating of the Nitrocris stela is a contributing factor.

[192] Leclant, *Montouemhat*, p. 236.

[193] Ibid. cf. von Zeissl, Aethiopen und Assyrer, p.59.

[194] Leclant, *Montouemhat*, p. 237.

In the first place the cause of damage cited by Leclant is as incapable of demonstration as the conjectured destruction caused by Ashurbanipal's 667 B.C. invasion. Disturbances in the late 8th century there may have been, but evidence is lacking of damage to temple and town such as that encountered by Mentuemhet. Secondly, Leclant misrepresents the language of Mentuemhet. Even a cursory reading of the text suggests that the damage resulted from some catastrophic event and that the entire cultic apparatus of Upper Egypt has been in suspension till reinstituted by Mentuemhet. Breasted quotes extensively from the same temple of Mut inscription used by Leclant as the basis of his comments. We reproduce selected statements from Breasted's translation:

> I fashioned [the sacred barge of Amon] of 80 cubits in its length, of new cedar of the best of the terraces. The "Great House" was of electrum, inlaid with every genuine costly stone... I *purified all the temples in the nomes of all Patoris*, according as one should purify [violated] temples, --- after there had been [an invasion of unclean foreigners in] the Southland... I satisfied her lord (Amon) with the things of his desire, bulls of the largest, and calves of the best. I gave my lord...good things...food, and divine offerings... His granaries swelled with the first fruits [which came to] him down-stream in their season, and up-stream in their time. They made festive ... to celebrate the feasts; that he might provision the prophets, priests, -- and lay priests of the temples --- in the nomes, great and small ... --- it being divine chastisement. [In] the protected Southland in its divine way, while *the whole land was overturned*, because of the greatness ... coming from the South.... I repelled the wretches from the southern nomes --- I spent the day in searching and the night in seeking, searching, [summoning] them that passed, calling them the ---, and revising the rules that had begun to be obsolete. BAR IV 904-908 (italics added)

The inscription continues to describe Mentuemhet fashioning the divine images of Hathor, Amon, Horus, Min and Khonsu for the multiple temples of these gods. He ordered the construction of a (replacement) statue of Amenhopet I of electrum and costly stone "as done before". He rebuilt the protective brick flood wall around the Karnak temple, remoulded a sacred bull and rebuilt the M'd precinct to house the bull "more beautiful than what was therein [before]. He appears also to have rebuilt the entire temple of Montu and a barge for Osiris of new cedar.

Even if we delete Breasted's reference to " an invasion of unclean foreigners" - the inscription is damaged and the reading is supplied - it is clear that something catastrophic has happened in the southland. Temples have been violated, buildings destroyed, the physical apparatus of the priestly cult removed - divine statues, sacred barges, the stables for festive feasts - effectively ending the temple worship. Law and order have long been in abeyance. It is hard to agree with Leclant that this state of affairs endured through the first two decades of the 7th century till set right by Mentuemhet.

But event the damaged reference to “an invasion of unclean foreigners” cannot be readily dismissed. Elsewhere, on the base of a granite statue of Mentuemhet and his son Nesptah, there is a similar reference to "the violence (nšn) (done by) the foreigners". The boast is made on that same statue inscription that the Egyptians no longer live in fear of these "enemies", and are now able to pass the night in safety (lit. with fortress doors open).[195] Elsewhere still a statue from the Karnak cache refers to Mentuemhet as "one who dispels disorder (nšn) from the palace"[196]. We have encountered this term already. The cosmic upheaval in the 15th year of Takeloth II was called a nšn, an upheaval/catastrophe. It resulted in unspecified physical damage (nšn) to the land of Egypt and ultimately resulted in social disruption (nšn). Both physical and social/political disruption are alluded to by Mentuemhet in his use of this term. And this violence clearly resulted from the intrusion of enemies from foreign lands.

We temporarily rest our case. Traditionalist historians and Egyptologists appear to be correct in ascribing the devastation of Thebes and vicinity to an invasion by enemies from foreign lands. But the intrusion of foreigners can hardly be equated with the 667 B.C. invasion by Ashurbanipal. Leclant's objection that the Assyrian annals can under no circumstance be so interpreted still stands. And besides, we wonder what circumstance could provide for the Egyptians the sense of security described by Mentuemhet when, in the years following the assumed 667 B.C. destruction of Thebes, the Assyrians remained in the country, threatening violence.

Before resolving the apparent disagreement between Leclant and the majority position, we glance briefly at the two other reasons cited earlier for denying a destructive invasion of Egypt in 667 B.C., namely, 1) the very narrow window of opportunity during which the extensive repairs of Mentuemhet supposedly took place; and 2) the absence of any discernible motivation for extensive rebuilding at this time. We examine these two issues together.

Four Years Reconstruction

In the traditional history four years are available for the reconstructive activity of Mentuemhet. Even were we to assume that the badly damaged temple of Mut inscription contained references to no other items than those outlined above, we wonder at Mentuemhet's efficiency. He was able to rebuild barges, construct walls, rebuild/repair and purify temples, restore food production (including replenishing the necessary herds of cattle and granaries), supervise the construction of temple statuary, and recodify laws - and all this within a few brief years while the country remained occupied by the Assyrian army. He must have been an extremely resilient and resourceful man to organize such an efficient enterprise so soon after such devastating losses.

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[195] Leclant, *Montouemhat*, document 12, p. 84.
[196] Leclant, *Monouemhat*, document 1, p. 6-8.

Where, we enquire, did he obtain the necessary supplies - cedar for the barges, granite, electrum, and precious stones for the statuary, cattle and grain to replenish the food supply, limestone for the temple and wall construction? Were not the Assyrians stationed nearby, the same enemy who had just recently dispossessed the Thebans of all that was valuable? Did the Assyrians supply the precious stone and electrum? It is conceivable that the Assyrians might allow the resumption of planting and harvesting, and even of the reconstitution of herds of livestock, with appropriate taxation. But there was insufficient time to bring about the abundance about which Mentuemhet boasted.

We enquire finally, what would motivate Mentuemhet to engage in such renovations? It is unthinkable that such an astute politician would replenish the resources that the Assyrians had only recently looted while the Assyrians were nearby and posing a continued threat. Electrum, precious stones, cattle and grain were no less desirable to the foreigners after than they were before the assumed 667 B.C. invasion. The fact that Thebes was (again?) looted in 663 B.C. is proof that the threat was real. Mentuemhet's actions must be likened to a banker refilling the till while the robbers remain in the bank. The entire scenario defies reason.

Mentuemhet in the Revised History

It is not difficult to resolve the problem of Mentuemhet's activity. With the dynasties repositioned, and Mentuemhet, a contemporary of Psamtik I,. correctly placed in the years immediately following the arrival of Cyrus in Egypt, the conflict between Leclant and traditional historians disappears.

Leclant is correct. There was no destruction and looting of Thebes in 667 B.C. And the destruction repaired by Mentuemhet did in fact take place two decades before his repairs were begun. But the despoiling of Egypt did not occur in the turmoil of the late 8th century; it must be attributed to Nebuchadrezzar in the mid 6th century.

The traditionalists are correct. The destruction and looting of Thebes and vicinity must be credited to foreign enemies invading from the northland. But the intruders were Babylonian, not Assyrian. And the year of the invasion was 564 B.C., not 667 B.C.

In the revised history Mentuemhet served as governor of the south while Psamtik functioned as pharaoh and governor in the north of Egypt. Both were semi-autonomous authorities, though Mentuemhet may well have had, from the beginning, a lesser status. Both Psamtik and Mentuemhet held offices sanctioned by, if not established by, the Persians. The Petition of Petesi seems to attribute to Psamtik control of both Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt (Patores) early in his reign. There is no contradiction. Mentuemhet's office and activity may have begun later than Psamtik's 4th year, the first date mentioned in the Petition.[197]

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[197] The fact that Mentuemhet "repelled the wretches from the southern nomes" seems to indicate

With Mentuemhet dated to the early Persian period, engaged in repairing the damage done to Upper Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar over twenty years earlier, the problems associated with his inscriptions disappear entirely. His reconstructive activity is no longer confined to a brief few years. The reinstitution of temple worship, which finds its counterpart in central Egypt in the work of Petesi at Teujoi, may have encompassed the better part of three decades, from the arrival of Cyrus in 543 B.C. to the installation of Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I, in 513 B.C. Even if we were wrong in our redating of the Nitocris Adoption stela, he would have nine years, rather than four years, to accomplish his work. And there is no longer a problem identifying the source of supplies. The reputation of Cyrus in providing financial assistance for rebuilding activity within his empire is well documented in the case of the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple following the Judean exile. A similar benevolence may be assumed for the Egyptian recovery effort. And with the expulsion of the remaining Babylonian troops in Upper Egypt, and the installation of Persian auxiliaries in Syrene, there was instituted in Upper Egypt a Persian peace that lasted for almost a century. The country need no longer fear the anarchy that prevailed in the early decades of the exile.[198]

As for the motivation behind the activities of Mentuemhet, there exists a perfectly satisfactory explanation. There is no need to question the sanity of a costly renewal of the Theban temples. There was absolutely no fear of subsequent pillage. In the case of Judah Cyrus actually returned to the Judaean authorities the valuable temple utensils confiscated by Babylon a half-century earlier, in all 5400 articles of gold and silver. (Ezra 1:7-11) And severe sanctions were imposed on those who interfered with the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple. It is probable that Mentuemhet was similarly directed to undertake the reforms he initiated and that the security of his work was guaranteed by the Persian authorities.

Menuemhet, the Nubian

According to the current revision Mentuemhet began his tenure as governor of Upper Egypt sometime after the death of Taharka in 543 B.C. And Taharka, at the time of his death, lived and ruled in Napata, hundreds of miles upriver from Thebes. How do we explain, therefore, the proven connection between Mentuemhet and the 25th dynasty pharaoh? From whence did Mentuemhet arrive in Egypt to assume his post as governor of the southland?

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that he arrived early, while Babylonian troops remained in the Theban area. It must be admitted however, that these "wretches" could be any of the carpetbaggers who took advantage of the conditions of the exile to loot and pillage. When Udjahorresne arrived in Egypt in the days of Cambyses he had to evict intruders who had taken up residence in the temple of Neith in Sais.

[198] At least under Cyrus there was security within the Persian empire. Under his successors the situation was more precarious as we learn from affairs in post-exilic Judah, where conflict was commonplace for the returnees, making it necessary for Nehemiah to post armed guards while rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem.

The inscription of Mentuemhet that has absorbed the lion's share of our attention was inscribed on the walls of a small enclosure in the temple of Mut, close by the Karnak temple in Thebes. On the walls of this enclosure, in addition to the inscription previously excerpted, there exists a depiction of Taharka leading in procession the figures of Nesptah the elder, father of Mentuemhet, followed by Mentuemhet himself, and finally by Nesptah, one of Mentuemhet's sons by that name. The impression left by this procession is that the elder Nesptah was a contemporary of Taharka. We conjecture that Nesptah the elder was a casualty of Nebuchadrezzar's invasion or that he and his son Mentuemhet together accompanied Taharka into Nubia. In either case Mentuemhet lived out the next twenty years in Nubia. It is conceded by scholars that Mentuemhet had Nubian blood.[199] The last of his three wives, Udjarenes (or Wedjarenes), was Nubian. Mentuemhet likely served Taharka while in exile, returning to Egypt with Tanuatamon, accompanied by his Nubian wife. He remained to serve the Persians.

We cannot establish these facts beyond question, though some confirmation is forthcoming from Mentuemhet's tomb, "one of the largest and most lavishly decorated private monuments ever made in ancient Egypt."[200] Analysis of this massive structure by Edna Russmann suggests that it was constructed in two stages, one portion attributed to the 25th and later additions to the 26th dynasty."[201] There is clear indication that some temporal disruption separated the two phases of the tomb's construction.

> It thus seems clear that the walls of the two courts and the rooms in front of them were decorated in sequence from west to east, with the change from Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty style occurring within the first court, at its west end. Precisely at the point of this stylistic shift, however, we also encounter a significant change in the decorative program: from the orthodox registers of raised relief under the west portico to the large-scale, overall design of the north and south facades. This disjuncture is so complete as to raise the possibility of a larger disruption in the work on the tomb. One must, in fact, ask whether the major part of the first court, east of the portico, and the entrance complex, including the first room, were not merely the last areas to be decorated, but whether they may actually have been constructed later. This possibility seems to be supported by certain aspects of the tomb's architecture. Pp. 17-18

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[199] Cf. R.A. Parker, A Saite Oracle Papyrus From Thebes (1961), p. 6 who bases his remarks on the skin tone of Mentuemhet who is pictured in the vignette on the papyrus. He also cites comments by Serge Sauneron and Jean Yoyotte, "La campagne Nubienne de Psammetique II et sa signification historique," BIFAO 50 (1952), p. 201 n.5. This papyrus, dated in year 14 of Psamtik I, describes the installation Harsiese, son of Peftjau, as priest of Amon. In the revised history we interpret the installation as part of the work of Mentuemhet in renewing the Theban priesthood..

[200] Edna R. Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT34)," JARCE 31 (1994) p.1.

[201] "Mentuemhet's is the only major tomb at Thebes to have spanned the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties" Ibid., p. 19

This interruption in the construction of Mentuemhet's tomb is easily explained in the revised history. We assume that late in the reign of Shabataka or early in the reign of Taharka, Mentuemhet, still a young man, began the construction of his tomb (though the possibility remains that the tomb was begun by and intended for Nesptah the elder). Work abruptly ceased when Nebuchadrezzar invaded Thebes in 563 B.C. and resumed when Mentuemhet returned, whether in 543 B.C. or later. During those twenty years there occurred a dramatic stylistic change, in part attributable to the death of the earlier generation of Egyptian artisans.

It is interesting to note the almost complete absence of mention of Mentuemhet's first two wives, Neskhonsu and Shepenmut, in the inscriptions of the finished tomb. There is no evidence that either wife was buried there. The attention is focussed almost entirely on Wedjarenes, his Cushite wife. It is conceivable that neither of his first wives survived the invasion. We must assume he married Wedjarenes while in Nubia. Her status may have had something to do with his selection as the southern governor by the Persians. "Wedjarenes was of Kushite royal descent: her father was the 'king's son Pi(ankh)y-har'"[202]

Excavations in Mentuemhet's tomb are ongoing. Perhaps some development will shed further light on his rise to power. Meanwhile, we turn our attention further north, to south central Egypt, where Petosiris is beginning to re-establish temple worship in Hermopolis Magna.

Tomb of Petosiris

While Mentuemhet was re-establishing temple worship in the area of Thebes and Petesi was restoring Teuzoi in north central Egypt, Petosiris, high priest of Thoth, was performing similar repairs in Hermopolis, roughly mid-way between the other two centers, on the west bank of the Nile. We must admit at the outset that our dating of his family tomb to the Saite period is conjectural, and the argument from its inscriptions is weakened on that account. But if only to set the record straight, and provide direction for further research, the inscriptions from Petosiris' tomb need to be re-examined. The brevity of our discussion belies the importance of the inscriptions, reflecting instead their uncertain dates.

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[202] Edna R. Russmann, "Mentuemhat's Kushite Wife (Further Remarks on the Decorationof the Tomb of Mentuemhat, 2)," JARCE 34 (1997), 21-22.

The Dating of the Tomb.

The tomb was discovered in 1919 and excavated by M Gustave Lefebvre, who published his results in a series of preliminary reports and finally in his comprehensive *Tombeau de Petosiris* in 1924. From the outset he dated the tomb to the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. It was his belief that Petosiris functioned as lesionis of the temple of Thoth for seven years during the brief second Persian occupation of Egypt (343-332 B.C.), and that the desecration of Egypt he described occurred during his term in office. The tomb continued to be used by successive family members through the brief reign of Alexander and into the Ptolemaic period.

We note, however, that his dating of the tomb is very subjective. Lefebvre notes in his initial preliminary report that the tomb contained no cartouche, no sovereign's name, nor any other element which would allow him to propose, a priori, even an approximate date.[203] Only on stylistic and artistic grounds did he claim to arrive at his conclusions. The hieroglyphic inscriptions were, according to him, of the late period (i.e. post 28th dynasty). But he admits that the hieroglyphs themselves bear only the slightest resemblance to those of the Ptolemaic era. The style of writing is also early - pedantic, stylistically correct, and syntactically accurate. Based on linguistic criteria alone he considered that the tomb must date to the earliest part of this late period, near the time of Nectanebo. The artistic elements in the tomb, however, lead him to lower his dates toward the Ptolemaic period. He saw in the several artistic representations many indications of Greek influence. Notable among these were the long tunics worn by the men and robes reminiscent of those worn by Greek women. But as he himself admits, these garments are not distinctive of the 4th century B.C. Similar garments could be seen by Lefebvre in the near east of the twentieth century A.D. And the garments are not Greek; they reflect a Persian influence. "Voici maintenant un manteau, grec d'origine, mais modifie sous une influence etrangere, persane ou asiatique, et qui ne s'est pas encore rencontre hors d'Egypte.[204]

In the final analysis, while Lefebvre claims to date the tomb on the basis of the style of writing and on the apparent foreign influence on the costumes of the artistic figures, his date is based primarily on the content of the inscriptions. They speak of an invasion and destruction of Egypt by a foreign army, the subsequent occupation of the country by foreigners, and Petosiris' extensive repairs of the devastation caused by the foreigners. Those descriptive elements do not fit the destruction of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 B.C., the only other dating possibility entertained by Lefebvre. Petosiris' father is depicted as living under an indigenous pharaoh, while Petosiris' term in office, in Lefebvre's

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[203] G. Lefebvre, "Le Tombeau de Petosiris: Preliminary Report," ASAE 20 (1920) p. 114. "Il ne renferme ni cartouche, ni nom de souverain, ni, d'une facon generale, d'element qui nous permette de proposer *a priori* meme une date approximative. Il faut donc proceder par deduction, et interroger les divers documents, epigraphiques et archeologiques, susceptible de nous fournir quelque indication."

[204] Ibid., p. 116

understanding at least, was contemporary with the last seven years of the foreign domination, clearly a chronological impossibility if the inscriptions relate to the 120 year long first Persian occupation of Egypt. The possible identification with the 27th Persian dynasty was considered and immediately rejected. Petosiris must belong to the second Persian domination.[205]

But artistic considerations are notoriously suspect for dating purposes. Persian costume and Persian influence did not change appreciably from the first to the second periods of Persian rule in Egypt. And we know that the Saite dynasty, which in the revised history overlaps the first Persian domination, was characterized by considerable Greek influence.

The Tomb Inscriptions

Lefebvre's dependence on the chronology of the traditional history was a mistake. Regrettably his erroneous dating of the Petosiris inscriptions has not only seriously affected their interpretation, it has also influenced their translation. The matter must be set right.

The tomb inscriptions speak frequently of a period of foreign rule over Egypt. For Lefebvre this could only refer to the time of the second Persian domination (343-332 B.C.). In the same context in which Petosiris speaks ill of this calamitous era he applauds his seven years as lesionis of Thoth. Therefore, Lefebvre reasoned, Petosiris must have been priest during the time of this foreign rule. His translations reflect that understanding. The only alternative, dating the priesthood of Petosiris subsequent to the brief Persian domination, was rejected on other grounds, among them the belief that his reforms took place in a Persian context. In general most scholars have agreed with Lefebvre. Olmstead is typical:

> "Petosiris became head of the most important family at Hermopolis in 339, less than four years after the Persian re-conquest. He, too, made his peace with the powers that were, but writing during the reign of the Macedonian Philip Arrhidaeus he has much to say of Persian misrule."[206]

Before proceeding we pause to put Petosiris in his true historical context. He does not belong to the 2nd Persian occupation of the country; he belongs to the first. Petosiris'

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[205] "Mais encore de quelle domination persane s'agit-il? De la premiere, qui dura cent bingt ans, couvrant tout the ve siecle, et se termina vers 404 par la verolte d'Amyrtee, - ou de la seconde, qui commenca en 342, a la chute de Nectanebo II, et prit fin en 332 apres les victoires d'Alexandre? Asssurement de la seconde, qui est la plus proche de l'epoque ptolemaique, au dela de laquelle is parait impossible de faire remonter la decoration du tombeau de Petosiris." Op.cit., p. 120.

[206] A.T. Olmstead, *A History of the Persian Empire* (1948), p.441

father lived in the last days of 25th dynasty rule over Egypt. The invasion and subsequent rule of foreigners about which Petosiris speaks must be attributed to the Babylonians under Nebuchadrezzar. The seven years during which Petosiris functioned as lesionis of Thoth followed the arrival of Cyrus and the beginning of the 1st Persian domination. The insistence of Lefebvre and Olmstead in placing the recovery efforts of Petosiris in a Persian context was correct but misplaced. His work was done early in the 1st Persian domination. It is because of the errant traditional history that Lefebvre was unable to find correspondences between the inscriptions of Petosiris and the Egyptian 27th dynast.

There are several significant texts among the tomb inscriptions. We restrict our analysis to Lefebvre's inscription no. 81, found on the east wall of the main chapel and considered by him to be the most important. Petosiris introduces this lengthy biographical inscription with a brief genealogical reference to his father Seshou and his brother Zedthotefankh, to whom a portion of the tomb is dedicated. We are not informed what happened to them? They apparently had constructed no tombs of their own, since Petosiris feels compelled to create speeches on their behalf within his own mortuary space. The father, at least, functioned under a native pharaoh. The fate of the elder brother is obscure. Did one or both perish in the time of trouble, when burial within Egypt was denied them?

> I built this tomb in this necropolis, beside the great souls who are there, in order that my father's name be pronounced, and that of my elder brother. A man is revived when his name is pronounced![207]

Petosiris continues in lines 28-33 of the inscription - after a brief outburst of religious sentiment - to detail significant events in his life, beginning with a brief overview:

> I spent seven years as controller for this god, administering his endowment without fault being found, While the Ruler-of-foreign-lands was Protector in Egypt, And nothing was in its former place, Since fighting had started inside Egypt, The South being in turmoil, the North in revolt; The people walked with [head turned back] All temples were without their servants, The priests fled, not knowing what was happening.

Then begins a lengthy description of the reforms instituted by Petosiris, rivalling if not eclipsing those claimed by Mentuemhet:

> When I became controller for Thoth, lord of Khnum, I put the temple of Thoth in its former condition. I caused every rite to be as before, every priest (to serve) in his proper time. I made great his priests, advanced his temple's hour-

[207] Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature vol. III*, p 45-48. All quotations of inscription 81 are taken from Lichtheim's translation, except where noted.

> priests. I promoted all his servants. I gave rule to his attendants. I did not reduce the offering in his temple. I filled his granaries with barley and emmer, his treasury with every good thing. I increased what there had been before ... I gave silver, gold, and all precious stone ... I made splendid what was found ruined anywhere I restored what had decayed long ago, and was no longer in its place.

There follows a description of specific acts of restoration: the construction of a temple of Re, with doors of pinewood inlaid with Asian copper; the rebuilding of a house for the goddesses within the Khnum temple, of white limestone, elegantly finished; the construction of an enclosure surrounding the temple park in an area "damaged by wretches and traversed by intruders". Other ruins were left as Petosiris found them, with appropriate memorials:

> Now when I was before this goddess, Heket, lady of Herwer, at her beautiful feast of the year's last month, I being controller of Thoth, she went to a spot in the north of this town, to "House of Heket," as it is called by all, which was ruined since time immemorial. The water had carried it off every year, till its foundation plan was no longer seen. It only was called "House of Heket," while no brick nor stone was there. Then the goddess halted there.

It is apparent from these few excerpts that the events described by Petosiris fit perfectly the circumstances which prevailed in the years immediately following Cyrus 543 B.C. conquest of Egypt. There had existed a tumultuous time during which both the north and south of Egypt were destroyed, men wandered about aimlessly (or were taken away captive?) while priests abandoned the temples. There must have elapsed a considerable time to account for "years" of damage by water and ruins neglected "since time immemorial". When Petosiris arrived on the scene following years of exile there was need to initiate the temple service from the ground up. The majority of priests did not return. Men of lower rank were elevated to the priesthood. The temple apparatus was re-established "as had been before."

We should not be surprised if Lefebvre's translation of the text does not agree entirely with our hypothetical reconstruction. Lefebvre, who positions the lesionis of Petosiris during, not following the time of the devastation of Egypt, punctuates the text to reflect his interpretation. Recently Bernadette Menu has re-examined the texts that mention the seven-year lesionis of Petosiris. She has determined, based on "the logical coherence and chronology of events", that the priesthood of Petosiris' took place after, not during the Persian domination, i.e. after the time of trouble.[208] Her analysis and rephrasing of lines 28-33 serve to establish a more reasonable sequence of events.

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[208] Bernadette Menu, "Le tombeau de Petosiris: Nouvel examen," BIFAO 94 (1994) p. 323.

Menu sees a three-fold division of lines 28-33, including the text which follows.

1. Petosiris states how he has exercised the office of lesionis of Thoth for seven years. "I passed seven years as administrator of this god Thoth administering his goods without any fault being found in my administration."

2. Petosiris describes the lamentable state of the temple of Hermopolis during the period of trouble that immediately preceded his nomination:

> ...whereas a king of a foreign land had exercised his protectorate over Egypt. There remained nothing which was in its former place, since the struggles took place in the midst of Egypt. The South was in turmoil and the north was in revolt, men walking about in disarray. There remained no temple available for (the use of) its officiates. The priests were far removed (from the sanctuaries) and were ignorant of what was transpiring.

3. Petosiris assesses his (subsequent) activity as administrator (beyond verse 33):

> I exercised the function of administrator of Thoth, lord of Khnumu, for seven years. Men of a foreign land ruled Egypt. I did everything well in his temple while men of a foreign land ruled Egypt. No work had been done (in the temple) since the foreigners came and invaded Egypt.

While we agree with Menu on the sequence of events, we suggest an alternative division of the text. We believe with Lefebvre that Petosiris exercised his office of lesionis "while a king of a foreign land exercised his protectorate over Egypt." We also agree that this king of a foreign land was Persian. But in the revised chronology Persian rule followed the destruction of the temples of Egypt and the exile of its priests. But Persian rule was not its cause. Lefebvre's text should therefore be partitioned as follows:

1. Petosiris describes his activity under Cyrus in the first Persian occupation:

> I spent seven years as controller for this god, administering his endowment without fault being found, While the Ruler-of-foreign-lands (Cyrus) was Protector in Egypt,

2. Petosiris describes the state of affairs that greeted his arrival back in Egypt:

> And nothing was in its former place, since fighting had started inside Egypt, The South being in turmoil, the North in revolt; the people walked with [head turned back] All temples were without their servants, The priests fled, not knowing what was happening.

3. Petosiris proceeds to assess his activity as lesionis.

With the tomb inscription wrongly assigned to the 4th century we can readily see the source of the confusion. There are two distinct groups of foreigners alluded to in the text. No wonder Lefebvre was perplexed. Menu as well. The first group, whom we believe to be the Babylonians, invaded the country, killed or exiled the priests, plundered and destroyed the temples, and left Egypt in a state of anarchy. Their actions are viewed by Petosiris as entirely destructive. No ruler of these foreign intruders is ever mentioned. The second group of foreigners, whom we believe to be the Persians under Cyrus, "ruled Egypt" benevolently, and provided the context in which the reforms of Petosiris might proceed. With the activity of Petosiris viewed in the context of the revised chronology, Menu's argument with Lefebvre is moot. Lefebvre's translation requires little emendation, only reinterpretation. His tomb inscription 59 lines 2,3 is a case in point.

> I exercised the function of administrator (lesionis) of Thoth, lord of Khumunu for seven year while men of a foreign land (the Persians) governed Egypt. I found the temple of Thoth [fallen in ruins ... I called the scribes] (who) were found (in) this temple; I gave them money and grain, filled their hands, in order to raise up again monuments in his temple - since for a long time no work had been done, since foreigners (the Babylonians) came and invaded Egypt.[209] (insertions mine)

We need not assume that Petosiris arrived in Hermopolis at the very beginning of the first Persian period. His seven year tenure as lesionis and the associated reforms may be dated any time during the interval 543-525 B.C., or even beyond. Without doubt restoration activity was underway in other Egyptian centres during these 18 years. But as we will see in the chapters that follow, when Cambyses arrived in Egypt in 525 B.C. even the temple of Neith in Sais - the west Delta town with which Psamtik is historically connected, and which ultimately became the capital of the country - remained in ruins. Much of the recovery from the lengthy forty year exile was underway, but much remained to be done.

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[209] Ibid., p.321-2. For the complete text of inscription 59 and related inscriptions 61, 62, 81 and others from the south wall, cf. Lefebvre, Le Tombeau de Petosiris, Premiere Partie, p.79ff.

Chapter 6: Cambyses in Egypt: (525-522 B.C.)

Cambyses' Expedition

Two Versions of History

In the traditional history the arrival of Cambyses in Egypt took the form of a military conquest that included a pitched battle against Psamtik III at Pelusium, a siege of Memphis, the brutal murder of Psamtik's children, and the desecration of Amasis' body in Sais. There followed three separate military ventures against Carthage, Ethiopia and the Ammonians of the western desert. Herodotus portrays Cambyses as a madman, who brutally savaged Egypt en route to the conquest of North Africa.[210]

In the revised history Cambyses arrived as head of state intent on establishing a physical presence in his Egyptian province, a country in the first stages of recovery from a brutal destruction by the Babylonians four decades earlier. He did not come to conquer; Egypt was already his.[211] As king of the Persian Empire, which had provided a reprieve from

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[210] Her. III.1-38

[211] The few Egyptian monuments dated to Cambyses' reign by modern scholars appear to consistently number his years from the beginning of his rule in Persia in 530 B.C., rather than from his assumption of a pharaonic titulary in 525 B.C. It is a serious matter for the traditional history that a demotic papyrus written after the conquest of Cambyses (Cairo 50059) refers to the years 2 and 8 of Cambyses, apparently ignoring the reigns of Amasis and Psamtik III. [For bibliography and discussion cf. Posener, *La Premiere Domination Perse En Egypte* (1936), p..33 note a & p. 173 note 1 - cf. also the demotic papyrus Cairo 50060, col. 2,1 dated to Cambyses 5th year] For the most part scholars ignore the implications of this dating system, and attempt to explain the data otherwise (though K.M.T. Atkinson ["The Legitimacy of Cambyses and Darius as kings of Egypt," JAOS 76 (1956) 167-177] followed by Leo Depuydt ["Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Achaemenid Egypt," JEA 81 (1995) 151-173] agree that Cambyses' years of rule in Egypt are dated from his assumption of power in Persia, and Atkinson at least attempts to provide an explanation, namely, that Cambyses deliberately backdated his Egyptian regnal years to the beginning of his Persian rule in order to legitimize his kingship in Egypt.) Other scholars attempt to alleviate the problem by reinterpreting some of the numbers. Posener [op.cit.] expresses the opinion that the rule of Cambyses was sometimes reckoned from the death of Amasis, while P.W. Pestman argues that Cambyses' rule was reckoned from the year of his conquest. ["The Diospolis Parva documents: Chronological Problems," Grammata Demotika (1984) p. 154 & n.24; cf. also the discussion in R.A. Parker - "The Length of Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty," MDAIK 15 (1957) p. 209 n.3] Finally, D. Devauchelle ["Un probleme de chronologie sous Cambyse," Transeuphratene 15 (1998)] has argued that Cambyses' regnal years were numbered consecutively from the year of his conquest (year 1) through to the fourth year of Darius (year 8), thereby creating an historical fiction. In fact, all of these interpretive efforts are in some measure mistaken. Atkinson and Depuydt are correct in their assumption that Cambyses rule in Egypt was dated from 530 B.C., but the only incontrovertible evidence of that fact, to my knowledge, is the Apis stela of his year 6 (see below). That stela was uniquely created at the request of Cambyses. It was arguably not the production of Egyptian priests and therefore did not follow their dating conventions. Any other Egyptian documents from the years 530-522 B.C.

the ravages of Nebuchadrezzar's invasion, Cambyses was welcomed as a liberator. He was neither vicious nor bent on conquest.

Which of these two views of history is correct?

If we can explain the grossly distorted portrayal of Cambyses, preserved in the Cambyses' narrative of the pseudo-Herodotus, we will have gone a long way toward vindicating the Persian king and authenticating the revised history. The explanation is circuitous. We begin with Ktesias.

According to Ktesias

Herodotus is not the only 5th century B.C. historian to mention the expedition of Cambyses to Egypt. Ktesias, born into a family of physicians in Knidus in Caria, was taken prisoner by the Persians about 417 B.C. and took advantage of his privileged position in the Persian court to write a history of Persia from its beginnings to 398 B.C., the date of his return to Knidus and Sparta. The original historical work, the *Persika*, has unfortunately not been preserved intact.

The *Persika* was composed in twenty-three books, the first six devoted to a "history" of the Assyrian and Median empires down to the fall of Astyages; the remaining seventeen dedicated to a history of the Persian empire. While the original is lost, epitomes of the first six chapters are preserved in book two of *Diodorus Siculus*, and excerpts of the last seventeen chapters in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius.[212] In addition to these two major reproductions, numerous (other) fragments are preserved by various ancient authors. In spite of the quantity of preserved material the present text suffers from the criticism that not a single sentence written by Ktesias has been preserved verbatim.

Photius, who preserves the largest segment of the existing work, was the patriarch of Constantinople in the late 9th century A.D. In his capacity as churchman he played a significant role in the final schism between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches. He was also one of the greatest of the Byzantine scholars, and in that capacity preserved for subsequent generations his epitome of Ktesias. It is a highly condensed version of the original, consisting essentially of a collection of notes made by him from whatever texts were then accessible.

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would be dated by Egyptian scribes to the years of Psamtik I. The demotic papyri cited by all of the above named scholars in defence of their respective opinions - the Petition of Petesi and the Demotic Chronicle, both mentioned in earlier chapters, and the contract papyri from an Assiut tomb (Cairo 50059 and Cairo 50060) which will be discussed in chapter 11 - all refer to the years of an interloper named Kbdj who is not Cambyses and who "ruled" Egypt in the years following the death of Amasis in ca. 404 B.C., during and following the brief tenure of Amyrtaeus.

[212] Scholars refer to the entirety of the Photius version as fragment 29. The numbering of the other fragments can be found in John Gilmore, *The Fragments of the Persika of Ktesias*, (1888) p. 2,3.

Book twelve of the *Persika* is of special relevance for this revision, containing as it does Ktesias' account of the expedition of Cambyses to Egypt. Only two existing fragments purporting to be from book twelve mention the Cambyses expedition. One, by far the more detailed, is preserved by Photius; the other is part of a quotation contained in the work of Athenaeus from the second century A.D.

The Photius version describes an expedition against Egypt conducted by Bagapates, an influential eunuch held in some esteem by Cyrus, father of Cambyses. Shortly after the accession of Cambyses, for reasons not given, Bagapates invaded Egypt. It is not stated in the narrative that Cambyses ordered the invasion. In fact, the description of Cambyses' burial of his father Cyrus seems to be interrupted by the insertion of this vignette. The Egyptian king against whom Bagapates engaged this expedition was named Amyrtaeus, and the military expedition succeeded largely through the treachery of another eunuch named Combaphis, a minister in the Egyptian court of Amyrtaeus. According to Ktesias, Combaphis turned traitor in hopes of improving his political situation. Leaving Egypt he collaborated with Bagapates in the ensuing invasion. The invasion was successful. As a result six thousand Egyptians were taken captive and exiled to Susa, Amyrtaeus among them. All of Egypt was annexed to Persia. The battle itself is not described, only the fact that there fell therein 50,000 Egyptians and 7000 Persians.[213] It was an horrific time.

We have no idea when or how the Bagapates/Combaphis invasion came to be associated with Cambyses, but it is misplaced. It took place at the end, not at the beginning of the first Persian occupation. Scholars, attempting to adapt this story to fit the description of Herodotus, typically emend the name Amyrtaeus to Psamtik, and treat the incident as a distorted version of the 525 B.C. arrival of Cambyses in the days of Psamtik III. That is a mistake. The narrative is not distorted; it is reasonably if not totally factual. But it has been displaced. Amyrtaeus is well known as the sole occupant of Manetho's 28th dynasty. His brief reign followed immediately the death of Amasis in 404 B.C.

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[213] Based on the translation from the Greek into French by R. Henry, *Ctesias, La Perse, L'Inde: Les Sommaires de Photius* (1947) p.18,19. "Le douzième livre commence au règne de Cambyse. Dès son avènement, celui-ci renvoie le corps de son père en Perse par les soins de l'eunuque Bagapatès pour l'y ensevelir et règle tout d'après les dernières volontés paternelles. Les personnages les plus influents auprès de lui étaient Artasyras, un Hyrcanien, et, parmi les eunuques, Izabatès, Aspadatès et Bagapatès qui était le favori du père de Cambyse depuis la mort de Pétèsaeas. Ce Bagapatès conduit une expédition contre l'Égypte et son roi Amyrtaios et défait Amyrtaios grâce a l'eunuque Combaphis, puissant ministre du Pharaon, qui livra les ponts et trahit tous les intérêts de l'Égypte pour en devenir le gouverneur; il le devient car Cambyse, après lui avoir fait conférer cette charge par Izabatès, cousin de Combaphis, la lui confirmé lui-même plus tard de vive voix. Ayant capturé Amyrtaios, il n'exerce contre lui aucune rigueur; il se confente de l'exiler à Suse avec six mille Égyptiens choisis par lui et il annexe toute l'Égypte. Il tomba dans la bataille cinquante mille Égyptiens et sept mille Perses." A German tanslation is given by Friedrich Wilhelm Konig, *Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos* (1972) p. 5,6. To my knowledge there is no English translation.

We cannot place the blame for the mistaken association of Combaphis and Cambyses on Ktesias, who lived through and whose history includes the entirety of the reign of Amyrtaeus (404-399 B.C.). It is unthinkable that he is grossly in error regarding an incident of this magnitude that occurred in his lifetime. The error must postdate his death in the first decade of the 4th century B.C. We will discuss the matter further below and again in chapter 11.

Removing the Combaphis/Amyrtaeus story to its proper historical context leaves the Photius version of Ktesias with no reference to the actions of Cambyses vis-à-vis Egypt. That leaves only the fragment from the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus (fr.30 = Ath.xiii. 560) from which to determine the Ktesian version of the Cambyses expedition. We are disappointed. According to Athenaeus, Ktesias did contain some reference to the expedition, but he preserves none of it. Instead Athenaeus reproduces a story from Herodotus to provide an explanation of why the expedition was undertaken, an explanation which involved Amasis and Apries. The Athenaeus fragment begins:

> Even the expedition of Cambyses against Egypt, as Ctesias says, occurred on account of a woman. For Cambyses, hearing that Egyptian women ... [214]

Athenaeus goes on to describe how Cambyses, upon learning favourable things about Egyptian women, sent to the Egyptian king Amasis, asking for one of his daughters in marriage. Instead, Amasis sent Cambyses one of his concubines named Neitetis, a daughter of Apries whom he had earlier deposed and killed. Ultimately Cambyses "learned the whole story from her, and when she entreated him to avenge the murder of Apries he consented to make war on the Egyptians."

This fanciful story is clearly a synopsis of a similar version preserved in the Cambyses narrative of Herodotus (Her. 3.1) It is not entirely clear from the syntax of the Greek original whether Athenaeus is attributing to Ktesias the entire story, or merely the statement that the expedition took place "on account of a woman." In the latter case Athenaeus is himself supplying the Neitetis story, borrowed from Herodotus, in order to explain Ktesias' comment. We do not have to decide. It is extremely unlikely that Ktesias included any comment on the matter.

We recall that Athenaeus wrote in the second century A.D., fully six centuries after Ktesias. By this time the Cambyses' legend was full blown. Athenaeus himself, in the same verse of the *Deipnosophists*, reproduces a different version of the Neitetis story, which he credits to Dinon in his *Persian History* and Lyceas of Naucratis in the third book of his *Egyptian History*. This second version is also from Herodotus. (Her. 3.2) What distinguishes the Ktesias quote from the stories supplied by Dinon and Lyceas is the absence of any mention of a literary source. We should have expected Athenaeus to mention the *Persika* as the source of Ktesias remarks, as he mentions the *Persian*

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[214] The translation is that of C.B. Gulick, *Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists, vol. VI* (1950) from the seven volume Loeb series.

History and *Egyptian History* of Dinon and Lyceas. This may indicate that his remarks vis-à-vis Ktesias are based on hearsay, rather than on personal observations from a printed version of the *Persika*.

We have other reasons for doubting that Ktesias recorded either the Neitetis aetiology or the remark that the expedition took place "on account of a woman", the comment that introduced the aetiology. Ktesias' contempt for the fanciful stories of Herodotus is well documented. It is questionable that he would have reproduced for public consumption one of those same stories, especially one discredited by Herodotus himself. Furthermore, since we have already argued that the Bagapates story belongs elsewhere, and that Ktesias preserves no details of the actual Cambyses expedition, only the mere statement of its occurrence, we wonder why he would have reproduced a lengthy and unreliable version of its cause?

In John Gilmore's classic treatment of *The Fragments of the Persika of Ktesias*, the fragment from Athenaeus is included in its entirety as an adjunct to the Bagapates/Combaphis story, leaving the impression that Ktesias, following Herodotus, associated Cambyses with Amasis. That is misleading. When the Bagapates story is removed to its proper historical context at the end of the 5th century, and the fragmentary hearsay of Athenaeus is properly questioned, what is left in Ktesias is a simple statement that Cambyses led an expedition to Egypt.[215] The expedition (strateia) was no doubt a military enterprise. Cambyses intended to extend his empire beyond Egypt. But Ktesias says nothing about what happened in Egypt, perhaps because the Egyptian expedition was as inconsequential as that conducted by Cyrus almost two decades earlier. There was no great battle to describe, no death and destruction to document. The confusion among Greek historians must postdate the time of Ktesias.

If we accept as fact that Cambyses arrived in Egypt several decades into the reign of Psamtik I and that the event was relatively benign, there remains the problem of explaining the later tradition of his atrocities and of the mass destruction of life and property falsely attributed to him. The problem is not difficult, but it needs to be addressed. There are two contributing factors, both cases of mistaken identity. The first is the confusion of Nebuchadrezzar and Cambyses; the second the mistaken identification of Combaphis and Cambyses.

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[215] It can be argued that this was all that the original Herodotus said about the expedition. Book two begins with the statement that "He (Cambyses) considered the Ionians and Aeolians as slaves inherited from his father, and prepared an expedition against Egypt, taking with him, with others subject to him, some of the Greeks over whom he held sway." (Her. II.1). The focus immediately changes and there follows the entire 182 verses of Book two at which point the Cambyses expedition section (Her III. 1-38) was inserted, taking up the statement of II.1 and providing details of the invasion: "It was against Amasis that Cambyses led the army of his subjects, among them the Ionian and Aeolian Greeks. (Her. III.1) The original sequel to II.1 is found in III.39, immediately following the Cambyses narrative: "While Cambyses conducted the expedition against Egypt, the Lacedaemonians were attacking Samos...".

Confusion of Nebuchadrezzar and Cambyses

We have not only to explain how later tradition, developed fully by the time of the pseudo-Herodotus, viewed Cambyses with such vehement disdain, and credited to him the atrocities recorded in book three of the *Histories*; we have also to explain why history has failed to clearly record the actual destruction of Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar. The problems are but two faces of a single coin, and have a common solution. History has telescoped the invasions of Nebuchadrezzar and Cambyses, and has wrongly credited Cambyses with the destruction wrought by Nebuchadrezzar. The confusion may or may not have been accidental.

When Cambyses arrived in Egypt he was unopposed. There is no contemporary record indicating that he destroyed a single building or temple anywhere in Egypt. The sole possible exception, the statue inscription of Udjahorresne, typically interpreted as supporting Herodotus, actually argues to the contrary. As Olmstead says:

> That the tales of savagery do not reflect contemporary opinion is proved by the account of Udjahorresne, admiral of the royal fleet under Amasis and Psamtik and priest of the goddess Neith at Sais. Writing under Darius, he was under no compulsion to speak kindly of his master.[216]

This sole surviving monument documenting the arrival of Cambyses is sufficiently critical for the present revision to deserve separate treatment in the next chapter. We mention here only one curiosity omitted in the later discussion. The famous Vatican statue of Udjahorresne was not the only record of Cambyses' activities left by this notable. In a tour of Egypt in 1828-29 Rosellini recovered another statue of Udjahorresne and recorded its inscription. The statue was subsequently lost but the legible portion of its brief introduction recorded in Rosellini's notes, and translated by Posener, refers to Cambyses as the "protector of all foreign countries, ... lord of the lands, Cambyses the great, the one who (re)builds cities (celui qui eleve les villes)".[217] Posener is puzzled by the reference, and can only remark that this is "a curious epithet for a king whom tradition represents as a destroyer."[218] Apart from Udjahorresne, and a misinterpreted papyrus inscription from Elephantine discussed below, there is absolutely nothing to substantiate the supposed atrocities of Cambyses, regardless of which king was his Egyptian contemporary.

The confusion or confounding of Nebuchadrezzar and Cambyses is perhaps nowhere so clearly portrayed as in the 7th century A.D. history of John, Bishop of Nikiu.

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[216] A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (1948), p. 90.
[217] G. Posener, *La Premiere Domination Perse en Egypte* (1936), p. 28.
[218] Ibid, p. 29

The Chronicle of John, Coptic Bishop of Nikiu

John of Nikiu was born about the time of Mohammed's invasion of Egypt (7th century A.D.) and he ultimately became the Coptic bishop of Nikiu and 'rector' of the bishops of Upper Egypt. He wrote in both Greek and Coptic a version of Egyptian history up to and including the Muslim conquest of the country, large portions of which are lost.[219] The ultimate source of his knowledge is unknown, though he names Epiphanius, a 4th century bishop of Cyprus, who had earlier written "a complete history of the prophets after the overthrow of Jerusalem and the disappearance of the kingdom of Judah". (Chronicle 50.7) He was without doubt also informed by Arabic sources, and, as his religious office might indicate, by biblical literature, including apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works. He begins his fifty-first chapter by describing the victory of Cyrus over Croesus (mistakenly dating the event after the fall of Babylon) and the return of the Jewish exiles "to their own country" (51:16) There follows a description of the appointment of Cambyses as successor to Cyrus:

> And when Cyrus returned into Persia, he settled all the affairs of his government and appointed his son Cambyses to be king over Persia and Babylon. And he was a bad man, and he rejected the wisdom of his father and the worship of the Lord God. And Apries moreover was king of Egypt and dwelt in the city of Thebes and in Memphis and in two other cities, Muhil and Sufiru. And in those days, in consequence of the intrigues of the neighbouring peoples Cambyses sent to Jerusalem and gave orders (to his officers) to restrain them (the Jews) from rebuilding the sanctuary of God. (51:17-19)

From the outset Cambyses is identified as a villain and Apries as his Egyptian opponent. The mention of Apries is a surprise, but apparently the sources of John of Nikiu preserve a memory of an association of the two names.

As the narrative continues the brutality of Cambyses is contrasted with the benevolence of his father, and the initial phase of his expedition to Egypt is described:

> And afterwards he made an expedition to Egypt with a great (and) innumerable army of horse and foot from Media. And the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine got ready to oppose him (but in vain) and he destroyed not a few but many cities of the Jews, for he was supreme over all the world. And in the pride of (his) heart he (Cambyses) changed his name and named himself Nebuchadnezzar. And his disposition resembled that of a barbarian, and in the evil counsel of his desire he hated mankind. And his father Cyrus had been great and honoured before the living God and had commanded that they should build the temple of God in Jerusalem with (all) vigilance and zeal, what time he had sent Joshua the high priest, the son of Jozadak and Zerubbabel, that is Ezra,

[219] R.H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John (c. 690 A.D.) Coptic Bishop of Nikiu* (1916), p. iii. All quotations from the Chronicle are taken from this edition and are referenced to chapter and verse.

> and all the captivity of Judah that they might return to the land of the Hebrews and Palestine. But Cambyses, that is, Nebuchadnezzar the second, and Belshazzar burnt the holy city Jerusalem and the sanctuary according to the prophecies of the holy prophets Jeremiah and Daniel. And after they had burnt the city Cambyses came to Gaza and got together troops and all the materials for war, and he went down into Egypt to war against it. And in the war he gained the victory and he captured the Egyptian cites Farma and Sanhur and San and Basta. And he captured Apries, the Pharaoh, alive in the city of Thebes and he slew him with his own hand. (51:20-25)

It does not matter that the *Chronicle* is mistaken in its description of some aspects of post-exilic Jewish history. Nor is it important that we identify the Egyptian cities of Farma, Sanhur, San and Basta. (John of Nikiu is clearly influenced by Arabic sources and frequently uses Arabic epithets for place names and king names.) What is significant is the apparent merging of the character and historical roles of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon in 586 B.C. and Cambyses, king of Persia in 525 B.C. Suddenly, out of nowhere, Cambyses not only adopts Nebuchadrezzar's name, but also assumes Nebuchadrezzar's place in history. He is no longer a contemporary of the Jewish returnees who are about to rebuild the Jerusalem temple; he is a contemporary of the inhabitants of Jerusalem in the last days of the Judaean kingdom and of Nebuchadrezzar the Chaldaean king who destroyed their temple and "burnt the holy city Jerusalem and the sanctuary." From this point in the narrative the activities of Cambyses parallel those of the first Nebuchadrezzar.

Before supplying further details of the invasion, the *Chronicle* of John explains the reason for Cambyses' anger. Apparently at an earlier time, "when there was war between the Persians and Egyptians" a warrior named Fusid "had gone and fought in Syria and Assyria and he had taken four sons of Cambyses prisoner as well as his wives... and he bound them and burnt their houses and took all that they had captive and brought them to the city of Memphis and he imprisoned them in the palace of the king." (51:26-27) There followed, apparently in retaliation, the expedition of Cambyses, referred to by the *Chronicle* as the second war, in which Memphis (mistakenly called Thebes in the *Chronicle*) was attacked and Fusid was fatally wounded. The bulk of the defenders somehow escaped and fled to Sais.

> And for this reason they fled for refuge into the city Sais, because it was a strong city and its fortifications stronger than those of the others. And Cambyses attacked this city a second time and carried it by storm and destroyed it. And he captured all the other cities of Lower Egypt towards the north to the seacoast and plundered them of all their possessions and destroyed their cities and neighbourhoods and burnt their houses with fire and left *neither man nor beast living*. And he cut down their trees and destroyed their plantations and made *the land of Egypt a desert*. (51:30-32) (italics added)

The merging of the activities of Nebuchadrezzar and Cambyses is transparent in this description of a military action undertaken by Fusid. This otherwise unknown "warrior" appears to be a general in command of an Egyptian army fighting against Cambyses/Nebuchadrezzar in the highlands of Assyria. But there is no place in either the traditional or the revised histories for a war between Persia and Egypt in the trans-Euphrates region in the years immediately preceding the expedition of Cambyses, whether in the reign of Cambyses or of Cyrus earlier. Such an event did take place, however, prior to the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar as described in the revised history. We argued earlier in chapter four that Nebuchadrezzar invaded Egypt for reasons similar to those described in the *Chronicle*, namely, in retaliation for Taharka's intrusion into Babylonian domains in Syria and Assyria during Nebuchadrezzar's mania. The army was Taharka's. The general may well have been Fusid. The possibility exists that members of the family of Nebuchadrezzar were taken captive by Taharka's army while that army was stationed in Nineveh. The obvious similarities between the language of the *Chronicle* and the language of Ezekiel in describing the results of the responsive invasion by Nebuchadrezzar serve further to confirm the claim that Nebuchadrezzar, not Cambyses, is the focus of attention. It was the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar which, according to Ezekiel, left "neither man nor beast living" and "the land of Egypt a desert."

The previous quote must have been a summary statement since John continues to describe Cambyses/Nebuchadrezzar warring against individual cities. There are multiple local kings resisting his advance, and individual battles against each are described. In every case Cambyses/Nebuchadrezzar is victorious and in every case the devastation is complete.

> And returning in the direction of Rif he warred against the city of Memphis, and he conquered the king who was in it. And the city of Busir also, which lies below Memphis, he destroyed and annihilated and took its possessions as a booty, and burnt it with fire and made it a desert. (51:32-33)

The narrative proceeds to document the murder of Cambyses' captive children by the Egyptians, and attention is focussed on the exploits of Elkad, one of the sons of Muzab, a local king who took an active role in slaying the children and was subsequently killed by Cambyses.

> And when (Elkad) was informed of the death of his father he fled into Nubia. And Cambyses also destroyed the city of On and upper Egypt as far as the city Eshmunin. And the inhabitants of this city on learning (of his approach) were seized with fear and fled into the city of Eshmunin. And they sent to Nubia to Elkad the son of Muzab, asking him to come unto them that they might make him king in the room of his father. For he had formerly made war against the cities of Assyria. And thereupon Elkad gathered a large army of Ethiop[ians and Nubians and warred against the army of Cambyses ... (51:40-42)

Elkad lost the battle. Eshmunin fell. "And when they had completed the destruction of the city Eshmunin they march into upper Egypt, and laid waste the city of Assuan.... and they destroyed Phile as they had done to the other cities." (51:44)

> And they turned back to the cities and provinces which still remained, and they ravaged them and burned them with fire till all the land of Egypt became a desert and there was no longer found in it a moving creature, neither a man nor even a bird of the air. (51:45)

Somehow Elkad lived through the carnage and along with others brought gifts to Cambyses, "that they might receive from him mercy" (51:46) Cambyses took many of the survivors captive, "and led them away to Media and Babylon." (51:47) Elkad was released and continued to rule, presumably in Nubia, since Egypt was left in shambles. The Cambyses/Nebuchadrezzar story ends with the exile of the remnant of the Egyptian population:

> And the number of the Egyptians whom Cambyses led away with him were 50,000 besides women and children. And they lived in captivity in Persia forty years, and Egypt became a desert. And after devastating Egypt, Cambyses died in the city of Damascus. (51:49-50)

There can be absolutely no mistaking the correspondence between this final segment of the *Chronicle* narrative and Nebuchadrezzar's invasion as outlined in the revised history. Multiple kings ruled Egypt. One of these kings - Taharka according to our revision, Elkad according to John of Nikiu - had outraged Nebuchadrezzar in the course of military action in Syria and Assyria, was driven from Lower Egypt by the invasion, fought and lost a battle with Nebuchadrezzar in Upper Egypt, and ultimately ruled in Nubia while Egypt was left a virtual desert. In both instances there was a massive exile of the remaining population and in both cases the exile lasted forty years.

Two clear conclusions can be drawn from the *Chronicle* of John. The most obvious is that at some time in antiquity the expeditions of Nebuchadrezzar and Cambyses were merged or telescoped by historians into a single event, their distinctions blurred, and that therefore the historical records of the actions of Cambyses should be read with extreme caution. The uncritical reading of book three of Herodotus should cease and desist. There is absolutely no confirmation of its details forthcoming from the monuments.

The second inference relates to the identity of the Egyptian pharaoh contemporary with Cambyses - Psamtik III according to Herodotus, Apries according to John of Nikiu. There is clearly a need to question the traditional identification. The *Chronicle* appears to be blending together two separate and reliable traditions, one in which the historical Cambyses arrived in Egypt in the days of Apries, not Amasis and Psamtik III, and the other a version of the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar preserved, most likely, by Muslim historians. We note the prominence of Apries in the beginning of the narrative, where Cambyses is accurately positioned in a post-exilic context. In the

Nebuchadrezzar story that dominates the balance of the narrative, Elkad (Taharka?) is the prominent king and Apries played no part. The premature death of Apries is assumed by John of Nikiu or by his sources in order to explain his absence in the conflated narrative.

We wonder why tradition preserves a memory of Apries as a contemporary of Cambyses. Apries, as was noted in chapter one, is the Greek version of Egyptian Wahibre. There are two Saite kings bearing that name. One is Ha'a'ibre Wahibre, the predecessor of Amasis. The other is Psamtik I (Wahibre Psamtik). There is nothing in the narrative that compels us to identify the named Apries as the fourth Saite king. Instead, following the revised history, we argue that the Bishop of Nikiu preserves a tradition of Cambyses arrival in Egypt in the days of Psamtik I.

There remains, however, a single problem. The argument above might convince the reader that the expeditions of Nebuchadrezzar and Cambyses have been superimposed in antiquity, thereby transforming the relatively benign expedition of Cambyses into a holocaust and erasing the memory of Nebuchadrezzar's invasion. But there remains to be explained the connection between that expedition and the time of Amasis and Psamtik III. For that we must assume some further confusion.

Confusion of Combaphis and Cambyses

We have previously noted that the Photius version of the Persika of Ktesias describes an expedition against Egypt conducted by Bagapates, presumably on behalf of Cambyses, and that Egypt was at the time ruled by Amyrtaeus. The expedition succeeded largely through the treachery of a eunuch named Combaphis, a minister in the Egyptian court of Amyrtaeus, who turned traitor in hopes of improving his political situation. The successful invasion by the Bagapates/Combaphis alliance resulted in six thousand Egyptians being taken captive and exiled to Susa, Amyrtaeus among them. In the battle 50,000 Egyptians and 7000 Persians died. We further suggested that this incident is misplaced in the Photius version; it belongs instead at the end of the 5th century. Sometime in the 4th or 3rd century B.C. the Bagapates/Combaphis invasion and the Cambyses expedition were merged into one.

The confusion of the Bagapates/Combaphis and Cambyses invasions, at least in subsequent generations when the Cambyses legend acquired its vicious attributes, is understandable. While differences outnumber similarities, both incidents involved invasions of Egypt by Persians armies; both were invasive and destructive; and both involved men with similar sounding names, Combaphis and Cambyses. The suggestion that the two invasions were confused in antiquity does not originate with this author. The proposal was first made in the middle of the last century by Jacques Schwartz, who argued, as do we, that the confusion was caused by the similarity between the names of

Combaphis and Cambyses.[220] Schwartz attributed the distortion of history to Ktesias himself. He argued that Ktesias, writing around 390 B.C., utilized a literary source that described the insurrection in Egypt accompanying the beginnings of the 28th dynasty, and mistakenly attributed aspects of that story to Cambyses. We argue instead that the Bagapates/Combaphis story was a later insertion into the work of Ktesias, as subsequent generations confused the two invasions. In the final analysis it matters little whether the fault lies with Ktesias or with later editors.

Assuming that the Bagapates story belongs at the end of the 5th century, precisely where we have located the reign of Amasis in the revised history, we have a plausible explanation of the erroneous tradition preserved in the Cambyses narrative of Herodotus. The Combaphis invasion occurred immediately following the death of Amasis in 404 B.C., i.e. during the reign of Amyrtaeus. That same Amyrtaeus is the likely referent of comments by Diodorus Siculus, who refers to him as "Psammetichus, the king of the Egyptians, who was a descendant of the famous Psammetichus." (Diod. 14.35.4). This invasion by a namesake of Cambyses, dated precisely to the last years of Amasis and the initial years of a king Psamtik, was subsequently and mistakenly identified with the Cambyses' expedition, and a legend was born. The atrocities of Nebuchadrezzar had already been or were subsequently transferred to this legendary Cambyses, further distorting history. The pseudo-Herodotus was beneficiary to the conflated invasion story. The argument will be advanced further in chapter 11.

Elephantine Papyri: Petition to Bagoas

That Cambyses does not deserve his reputation for violence to life and property within Egypt is admitted by an increasing number of scholars. But that is not to say that they are in agreement with what has just been argued. The current generation of scholars believe that the atrocities credited to Cambyses never happened, but they continue to deny an antecedent invasion by Nebuchadrezzar that might account for the damage. Therefore they simply minimize the actual damage done to Egypt at the time of Cambyses. We believe, on the contrary, that Egypt was indeed the victim of atrocities, but that those atrocities are not attributable to Cambyses. They were inflicted on Egypt by Babylon forty years earlier.

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[220] Jacques Schwartz, "Les Conquerants Perses et la Litterature Egyptienne," BIFAO 48 (1949) p. 72. "Ne peut-on supposer une confusion assez piquante entre Kombapheus et Cambyse dont les noms sont tres semblables dans leur transcription eqyptienne." Schwartz reasons, correctly in our view, that the Combaphis/Bagapates story cannot be understood as a garbled/plagiarized version of Herodotus, a view popularly held since the days of Maspero [*Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique, III*, p. 659, n. 1]. It has "un cachet local que le texte d'Herodote, meme demarque, ne pouvait donner." [ibid.]

A quote from Gardiner is a case in point. Referring to a papyrus that appears to attribute to Cambyses the destruction of all but one of the temples of Egypt, he remarks:

> It is true that a Jewish document of 407 B.C. speaks of 'the destruction of all temples of the Egyptian gods' in the time of Cambyses, but by then the king's evil reputation had had plenty of time to spread, and the damage done in that direction may have been confined to the withdrawal of the large official grants of materials that had previously been the custom.[221]

We want to set the record straight. The papyrus inscription referred to by Gardiner, that which refers to the mass destruction of the temples of Egypt, is not heir to a distorted tradition concerning Cambyses. Properly translated it does not credit Cambyses with the atrocities described. It describes instead his arrival in a country already decimated by some previous invasion. Egypt has been devastated - the only question is who caused the damage. Gardiner is mistaken. Destruction of temples, and "the withdrawal of large official grants of materials" from temples, are not the same thing. This papyrus deserves a second look.

The so-called "Petition to Bagoas" is part of the Sayce-Cowley collection of Aramaic papyri found in the ruins of the fortress at Elephantine, the southernmost garrison of the Babylonians and Persians in their respective occupation periods. It is a letter written in 407 B.C. to Bagoas, the Persian governor of Judea, appealing for assistance in rebuilding the Jewish temple in Elephantine, recently damaged by an anti-Semitic segment of the Elephantine community. In the course of this appeal, the Jewish inhabitants of Elephantine speak of the antiquity of the damaged temple.

> Now our forefathers built this temple in the fortress of Elephantine back in the days of the kingdom of Egypt, and when Cambyses came to Egypt he found it built. They knocked down all the temples of the gods of Egypt, but no one did any damage to this temple.[222]

It is generally conceded that the letter acknowledges the existence of the Jewish temple in Elephantine in the days preceding the Persian conquest, when native pharaohs still ruled the country. Precisely when it was built is a matter of conjecture, but the construction is generally dated before the fall of Jerusalem or in the period immediately following, perhaps by the Jewish refugees who entered Egypt with Jeremiah. It would certainly have existed on the island at the time of Nebuchadrezzar's invasion. Therefore, according to the revised history, this temple would be one of the few temples in Egypt to be spared destruction by Nebuchadrezzar, perhaps because of its island location. The first sentence in the quoted paragraph is therefore consistent with the revised history. But if Ezekiel and Jeremiah are reliable, and we have correctly interpreted the activity of

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[221] Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), p. 364.

[222] H.L. Ginsberg, in ANET, p. 492. The Aramaic text is found in A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C*, p. 112.

Mentuemhet, Petesi I, and Petosiris, the other temples in the country were not so fortunate. When Cambyses arrived he must have found the majority of Egyptian temples in ruins or only recently refurbished. It is therefore tempting to see the second statement in the quoted passage as a description, not of any destructive action on the part of Cambyses, but of the state of affairs greeting the Persian king on his arrival in Egypt. If it can be so interpreted, it constitutes a further argument for an extensive destruction of Egyptian temples in the years preceding Persian rule in Egypt, and thus for the destruction wrought by the army of Nebuchadrezzar.

We admit that most interpreters of the letter to Bagoas understand the antecedent of "they" in the last sentence to be Cambyses' army. Scholars in support of the claim that Cambyses ruthlessly destroyed the temples of Egypt constantly cite this letter. But is that what the letter actually says? Is the interpretation accurate? Several arguments support an alternative translation. We cite them in point form.

1. The authors of the letter, Jedoniah and his fellow Jews, are writing to a Persian governor in order to solicit his favour and assistance in rebuilding their temple. It seems unlikely that they would risk offending him by accusing Cambyses, the purported Persian founder of the 27th dynasty, of the mass destruction of Egyptian temples. On the contrary, it might be advantageous for the petitioners to remind Bagoas that, of all the temples in Egypt, the Khnum temple alone dated back to the days when the Persians assumed control of Egypt from the Babylonians.

2. In the usual view of the quote, the phrase "he found it built' would be completely redundant. Cambyses would have found all of the temples of Egypt "built" when he arrived. The phrase is apparently intended to identify the existence of the Elephantine temple as a unique fact to be explained by the following statement. It is because someone had knocked down all the temples of the gods of Egypt, but had not done any damage to that temple, that Cambyses found it built, i.e., "not destroyed" or "still standing", when he arrived.

3. If Cambyses were the subject of the last sentence it would have been more natural to continue by saying, "He knocked down all the temples of the gods of Egypt, but he did not do any damage to this temple." To understand the subject "they" as a reference to Cambyses' army requires an awkward and curious shift to a plural personal pronoun which has no definite antecedent.

4. It is claimed that the second clause in the last sentence states: "but no one did any damage to this temple". Literally the text says "but a man did not cause damage to this temple in anything", or, if we allow "man" to have the force of "someone", a distinct grammatical possibility, then the clause states: "but someone did not cause damage to this temple in anything." In either case this is a curiously oblique way to refer to Cambyses' supposed sparing of the Elephantine temple.

What is the most appropriate phrasing of the second sentence? The translation "they

knocked down" needs to be changed. In Aramaic the third person plural of the verb frequently expresses an impersonal subject and thus substitutes for a passive construction.[223] Thus "they knocked down" becomes "they were knocked down" or "they were destroyed". The resulting meaning depends entirely on the nuance given to the perfect tenses. The following approximates the sense of the passage.

> And when Cambyses entered Egypt he found this temple built (i.e. still standing); and while the temples of the gods of Egypt were (or had been) all pulled down, no damage had been done to this temple by anyone.

Properly translated the petition to Bagoas cannot be construed as an argument for Cambyses' brutal treatment of the Egyptian temples. When he arrived in Egypt the damage was a *fait accompli*.

At minimum the Elephantine papyrus, as reinterpreted above, is consistent with the thesis of an earlier devastation by Nebuchadrezzar. Unfortunately the papyrus postdates the Cambyses expedition by a full century and is therefore open to the criticism, levelled by Gardiner, that it represents a later stage in a developing Cambyses legend. This weakens its evidentiary value. What is needed to confirm the accuracy of the revised history is inscriptional evidence showing that the arrival of Cambyses took place in the reign of Psamtik I, several decades into the Saite dynasty. In view of the brevity of Cambyses' sojourn in Egypt we should consider ourselves fortunate if such evidence should materialize. But fortune smiles. Three monuments combine to provide the necessary argument - a stela, a statue, and a tomb. The statue and tomb of Udjahorresne are the subject of the following chapter. An examination of the stela belongs here.

Cambyses' Apis Bull

Serapeum Stelae

In the 6th year of Cambyses (524 B.C.)[224] an Apis bull died in Memphis. The Apis cult of the Memphite priests was centered in a complex of buildings and subterranean tombs in the Sakkarah plain near Memphis, the so-called Serapeum. The Apis bull was believed to embody the spirit of the god Osiris and its death precipitated a sequence of events that merit our attention.

On the understanding that at the time of death of the Apis bull the god Osiris was reborn

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[223] Franz Rosenthal, A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic (4th printing, 1974), p. 56 (section 181).

[224] Cyrus died in late summer 530 B.C. Since the Persians followed an accession year system of dating (cf. note 38, p. 38) the first official year of his reign began in March/April 529 B.C. If the bull died after March/April 524 B.C. the death would fall in the 6th regnal year of Cambyses.

in another bull within Egypt, the death of one Apis led immediately to a widespread search for the god's new domicile, thus for a replacement bull. Meanwhile the deceased Apis was prepared for burial in a selected Serapeum tomb, complete with sarcophagus, a mummification and ritual process taking the traditional 70 days to complete. The entombment was widely publicized, and was celebrated with pomp and ceremony, much as was any royal funeral in Egypt. Usually within a year of the funeral the replacement Apis had been discovered and preparations completed for its coronation, after which the new Apis led a pampered life, the object of worship by devotees of the cult, till its death some fifteen to twenty-five years later. The cycle was then repeated. This sequence is believed to have proceeded without interruption from at least the 18th through the 30th dynasties in Egypt, or for at least thirteen centuries.

At least during the Saite period an official stela was inscribed and placed in the bull's tomb, containing all or most of five significant pieces of chronological information, namely, 1) the date of the bull's birth, 2) the date of its coronation, 3) the date of its death, and 4) the date of its funeral, all in relation to the years of a reigning pharaoh. Additionally the stela often contained a declaration of the length of the bull's life, from birth to death, stated in years, months, and days.

In addition to these "official" stelae, the tombs often functioned as repositories for other stelae, placed at the time of the bull's funeral by devotees of the god, usually dated at the time of entombment, and containing a wide variety of information deemed relevant by the donator.

When Auguste Mariette excavated the Serapeum tombs in 1851, he recovered from these tombs over 800 such stelae, which were hurriedly excavated, transported by ship to France, and deposited in the Louvre, unfortunately suffering considerable damage en route due to improper crating and rough handling.

We have already utilized information from several of these stelae in preceding chapters, with appropriate acknowledgment. We are here concerned only with those that record the death of the Apis in Cambyses' 6th year. If we are to believe the current history, there is only one such stela.

Stela Louvre #354

This stela is badly damaged and crudely - apparently hurriedly - inscribed. Posener provides the most complete description, including photograph (figure 23 below), transcription (figure 24), and translation. According to Posener, at least the introductory lines of the text can be established with a degree of certainty by comparison with the official Apis stelae of bulls that died in the reigns of Amasis (Louvre #192), Apries (Louvre #240), and Necho (Louvre #193). Enough remains of the inscription to confirm that the Apis stela of Cambyses used similar phraseology to what was used by the priests in these "earlier" instances.

Figure 23: Apis Stela of Cambyses Year 6[225]

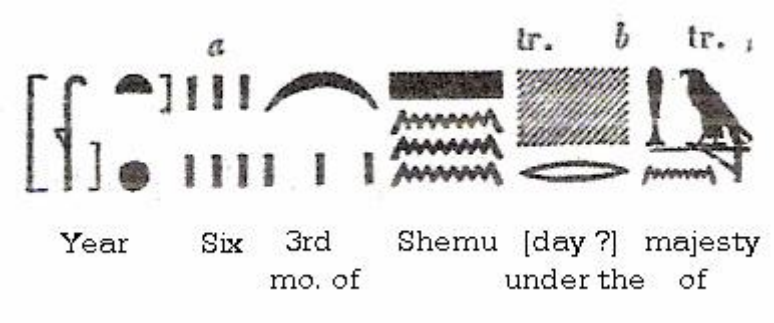
[225] Reproduced from Plate II in G. Posener, *La Premiere Domination Perse En Egypte* (1936)

Posener translates:

> [The year] 6, third month of the season Shemu, day 10 (?), under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (Ms.]tjw(?)-R', given life eternally, the god was conducted in [peace toward the beautiful West and was caused to rest in the necropolis in] its [place] which is the place which His Majesty had made for him, [after he had performed for him] all [the ceremonies] in the funerary chamber.
> They made for him clothing of mnh-t garments, they had brought to him all his amulettes and all his ornaments of gold and precious materials ... temple of Ptah, which is in the interior of (?) Hemag ... order ... to ward (?) H-t-k'-Pth (Memphis) saying "Lead (?) ... He did everything just as His Majesty had asked ... in the year 27 ... the year (?) ... [Camby]se, given life [226]

According to Posener, the two dates visible in the inscription - "[year] 6, the 3rd month of Shemu, day 10", and "the year 27" - refer respectively to the date of the funeral and the date of birth of the bull. This opinion is based partly on the readable portion of the surrounding text, and partly by comparison of this stela inscription with "earlier" Apis stelae. We believe he is wrong on both counts. An explanation follows.

Figure 24: Posener's Transcription and Translation of the Dateline on the Cambyses Apis Bull Stela (recording the 3rd month of Shemu)

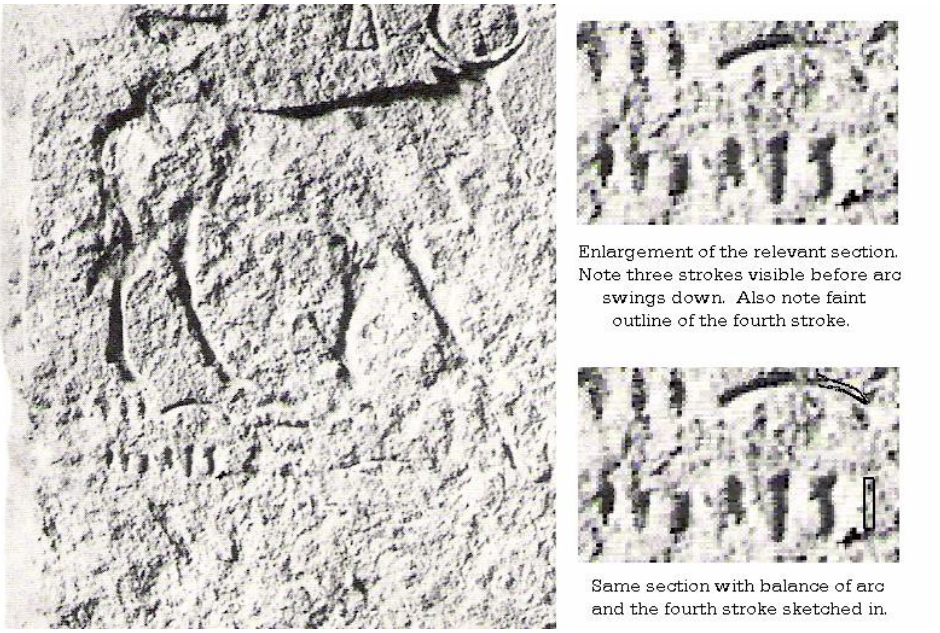


The Egyptian calendar in this Late Period of Egyptian history consisted of a 365-day year, made up of twelve 30-day months plus 5 intercalary days at the year's end. The 12 months are further divided into three "seasons" of 4 months each, entitled Akhat

[226] G. Posener, *La Premiere Domination Perse En Egypte* (1936) p. 33. The English translation omits the footnote indicators.

(Inundation), Peret (Winter) and Shemu (Spring). Thus the 3rd month of Shemu refers to the eleventh month of the year. But we question Posener's reading of the month. The number of the month in each season is depicted in the hieroglyphic text using a horizontal crescent moon under which are placed from one to four vertical strokes. The strokes are typically evenly and symmetrically placed to fill the available space. In the photograph of the stela provided by Posener (not in his transcription) we see three strokes clearly visible but positioned as if a fourth stroke were originally present to create the desired symmetry.[227] Posener ignored the anomaly and read what he could see: "3rd month of Shemu". We read instead: “fourth month of Shemu”, the likely original.

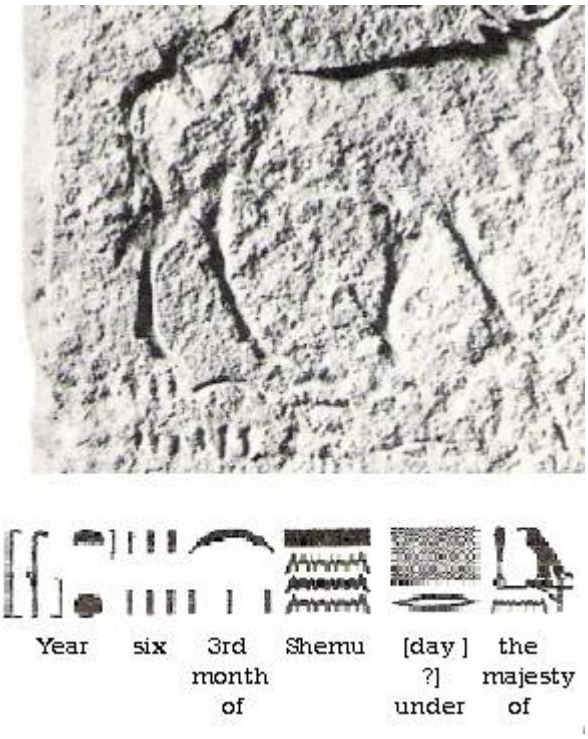
Figure 25: Magnification of the Dateline on the Cambyses Apis Bull Stela (showing the 4th month of Shemu)


Enlargement of the relevant section. Note three strokes visible before arc swings down. Also note faint outline of the fourth stroke.
Same section with balance of arc and the fourth stroke sketched in.

[227] The reader should compare Posener’s transcription (Figure 24) with the augmented photographs (Figure 25).

The text deteriorates where the “day” of the month was recorded. Only a guess is possible, hence the question mark in Posener's translation. He suggests “day 10". Other scholars named in a footnote read “day 3" and “day 30".[228] In fact, as we shall soon see, the reading should be “day 21". We obtain the reading from elsewhere. We can see in figure 26 the approximate position where the “day” would be recorded. The location is very badly damaged. Interpreters are only guessing.

Figure 26: Posener's Transcription Compared to the Stela Photograph



The question remains whether this 21st day of the twelfth month of year 6 of Cambyses refers to a death or a funeral. Based on comparisons with the other “official” stelae, especially Louvre #192, Posener confidently selects the second option, and fills in the lacunae using the phrasing from the other stela. We cannot argue against the inclusion of much of the augmented text. Enough remains to suggest the comparison has some validity. But the fact remains that we do not know what minor variations existed in the original. Different stelae place the four essential dates in different relative positions and

[228] Op. cit. page 32, note a.

employ slightly different phrasing. The stela of year six of Cambyses, by all accounts, was created in haste and was arguably not the production of the official cultic priests. According to Posener, the central portion of the inscription contains some sort of directive issued by Cambyses relating to the movement of the bull (and/or its sarcophagus). Since the intent of the stela appears to be the publication of this directive, distinguishing this stela from the others, we question the extent to which comparisons can be accurately made with "official" stelae from other time periods. And the fact of this comparison raises another question.

When Posener compared Louvre #354 with the Apis stelae of bulls who died in the reigns of Amasis, Apries, and Necho, he naturally assumed that the phrasing on these stelae were a stock in trade of the priests contemporary with Cambyses. But in the revised history these other stelae did not exist; the bulls whose lives they describe had not been born; Necho, Apries and Amasis belong to the future, not the past - a consideration that bears also on the second date mentioned in the Cambyses stela.

The "year 27" mentioned in Louvre #354 can only refer to the date of the bull's birth or of its coronation. Posener opts for the former. In the traditional history, this must be the 27th year of Amasis, the predecessor of Cambyses. But the bull mentioned in the official stela from Amasis reign (Louvre #192) died in that king's 23rd year. Its replacement must have been born that same 23rd year or early the next. It cannot be the same bull that died in the 6th year of Cambyses.

To solve the problem scholars conjecture the existence of an interim bull, born in the 23rd year of Amasis, which died prematurely only 3 years later. Its replacement, born in Amasis 27th year must be the bull described in the Cambyses' Apis stela. But there is absolutely no warrant for this assumption. The typical Apis lived as long as 25 years, and its average life span was well over 15 years. A premature death is possible, but highly unusual. And where, we ask, are the stelae commemorating the life of this hypothetical bull? Not a single inscription attests its existence. We would be surprised if one were found, since we believe that Amasis ruled a century later.

In the revised history Psamtik I was governor/king of Egypt under the aegis of the Persian government in the 6th year of Cambyses. In the eyes of the Memphite priests Psamtik I, not Cambyses, would be the reigning pharaoh. They would have dated their inscriptions relative to his reign, not that of Cambyses. The 6th year of Cambyses was 524 B.C. This would be the 20th year of Psamtik I, whose reign began in 543 B.C.[229] We should not be surprised, therefore, to find a stela referring to an Apis deceased in the 20th year of Psamtik I. In fact there exist 168 such stelae![230]

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[229] The Saite dynasty, unlike the Persian, followed a non-accession year system of dating (cf. notes 39 & 211). Therefore 543 was Psamtik's 1st year and 524 must be his 20th.

[230] Most are actually dated to Psamtik's 21st year, the date of the funeral, when access to the Serapeum would have been provided to worshippers. Cf. the discussion by Pierre Prevot,

There was but a single stela dated to the 6th year of Cambyses, and that one crudely made. Viewed in the context of the revised history that is surprising. The renewal of national life in Egypt after 40 years of upheaval ought to have precipitated an outpouring of sentiment and multiple expressions of gratitude on the part of clergy and laity alike. For this the votive stela was a most appropriate means. Of the 800 plus stelae in the Louvre collection, removed from the Serapeum by Mariette, one out of every five celebrates the life of the Apis bull that died in Psamtik's 20th year. That is an incredible statistic, and one that requires some explanation. What was so special about the 20th year of Psamtik I in the national life of Egypt in the traditional history? The question awaits an answer. Scholars do not even raise the question.[231]

Among the 168 stelae dated to Psamtik's 20th year is the "official" stela erected by the cultic priests, #190 in the Louvre collection. The translation provided by Breasted supplies the answers to many questions raised in our preceding discussion.

> Year 20, fourth month of the third season (twelfth month), day 21; under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wahibre (W' h-yb-R'); Son of Re, of his body, Psamtik (Psamtik I); went forth the majesty of Apis, the Living Son, to heaven. This god was conducted in peace to the Beautiful West in the year 21, second month of the first season (second month), (on) the twenty-fifth day. Now, he was born in the year 26 of King Taharka; he was received into Memphis in the fourth month of the second season (eighth month), (on) the ninth day; which makes 21 years, 2 months [7 days]. BAR IV 960-62

We summarize below the information from this inscription, adding the data from the Cambyses' Apis stela. Note that the lifespan of this bull according to Louvre #190 is 21 years, 2 months and 7 days. Since the bull died only days before the end of Psamtik's 20th year we must assume that the 26th year of Taharka was not followed immediately by the 1st year of Psamtik. Taharka must have lived into his 27th year, which in turn preceded the 1st year of Psamtik, as we argued in chapter 1 (cf. above p. 32). The stele Louvre #354 merely confirms the existence of Taharka's 27th year.

"Informations et Documents," RdE 43 (1992) p. 215-6. Many of these stelae are included in the most recent attempt to collate and renumber the Serapeum stelae, that by M. Malinine, G. Posener, J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Steles Du Serapeum De Memphis, Tome Premier* (1968) Nos. 192-252. The official stela Louvre #190 discussed below is #192 in this *Catalogue*. Unfortunately the *Catalogue* terminates with the Apis stelae from the reign of Psamtik I. It does not include the other stelae mentioned in this chapter. For consistency we maintain the use of the Louvre numbers current before the publication of the *Catalogue*.

[231] Prevot (cf. previous note) attributes the inflated statistic to an increased laxity in the conditions which authorized the erection of such stelae. He is merely guessing. There is no evidence that priests ever prevented devotees from erecting these costly monuments. We could as reasonably assume that the priests received a financial consideration for their part in the process and might encourage the creation of as many stelae as possible. Motivation seems to be the only reasonable parameter affecting numbers.

Table 12: Summary of Vital Statistics for the Apis Bull from Year 20 of Psamtik I (Lifespan: 21 years; 2 months; 7 days)

	Year	Month	Day
Birth	26th Taharka	10th	14th
Coronation	*27th Taharka	8th	9th
Death:	20th Psamtik I = *6th Cambyses	*12th	21st
Funeral:	21st Psamtik I	2nd	25th

* Denotes information supplied by or corroborated by Louvre #354

From the Psamtik stela we can confirm:

1) The perfect correspondence between the 6th year of Cambyses (524 B.C.), 12th month and the 20th year of Psamtik I (524 B.C.), 12th month. It is regrettable that the day of the month is illegible in the Cambyses' stela.

2) The initial date on Louvre #354 must refer to the death of the Apis. There is no ambiguity on the Psamtik stela. It is significant that both stelae begin with this date, an unusual feature not duplicated in most other "official" Apis monuments. Only the continuation "went forth the Apis ... to heaven" is missing from Louvre #354. The omission may be accidental. We can only conjecture.

3) The reference to a "year 27" in the Cambyses stela refers to the time of coronation of the bull in the reign of king Taharka, not the birth of a fictional bull during the reign of Amasis. Louvre #190 does not mention the coronation, and gives only the year of the bull's birth - year 26 of Taharka. But subtracting the bull's age at death from the date of death places the birth in the 14th day of the 10th month, late in Taharka's 26th year. The coronation, which typically takes place within a year, must have occurred in Taharka's 27th year.

The agreement is substantial! Is this merely coincidence? We can at least wonder at the fact that the Saite dynasty can be wrenched from its moorings and thrust into a Persian context 121 years distant, and find such a convenient parallel. And we can lament the preventable damage to the stela Louvre #354, caused by Mariette's haste and inexperience. For it can be stated unequivocally that had Louvre #354 been preserved

intact, the data it contained would have established beyond question the accuracy of the revised chronology. But hindsight cannot heal the damage and the damage introduces a small element of doubt - so we continue.

Before leaving behind Cambyses' Apis bull, there remains to be discussed a problem related to its sarcophagus.

The Apis Sarcophagus

The Apis bulls of the Saite, Persian, and Ptolemaic periods were entombed within a self-contained common vault of the Serapeum known to Egyptologists as the "Greater Vaults". These burial chambers were constructed following a cave-in of the "Lesser Vaults" further to the east – an event dated with some precision to the 52nd year of Psamtik I (see below). These Greater Vaults consisted of close to 360 meters of corridor with separate offset galleries to hold the individual bulls. Many of the bulls were buried in wooden sarcophagi that have long since decomposed, but 24 were provided with granite sarcophagi, and four of these contain inscriptions. Three of the four inscribed coffins name the pharaoh in whose reigns the bulls died - Amasis (23rd year), Cambyses (6th year) and Khababash (2nd year), the latter an obscure pharaoh usually assigned to the years immediately preceding Alexander's invasion in 332 B.C. Amasis - Cambyses - Khababash is therefore the traditional chronological order in which these kings reigned in Egypt. Since all of the other stone sarcophagi are assigned to the 27th and following dynasties, the granite sarcophagus of Amasis is considered to be the first of its kind. Amasis is duly credited by scholars with this innovation, in spite of the fact that he claims otherwise.[232]

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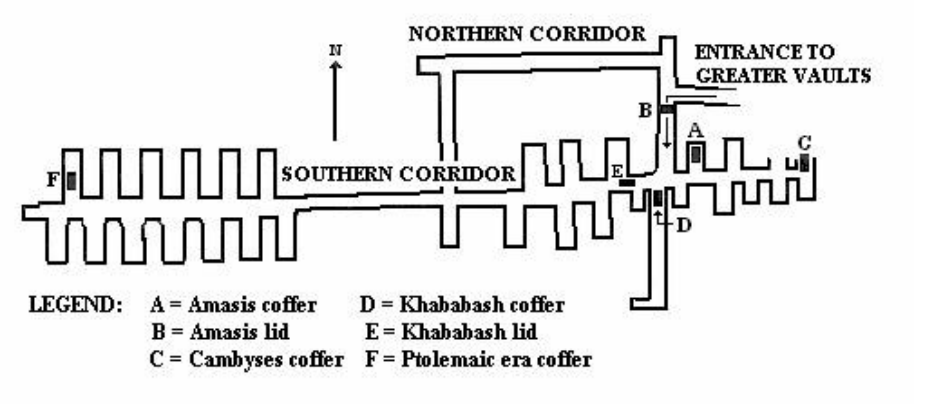
[232] The inscription on the Amasis coffer contains a declaration that Amasis had "made a great sarcophagus in granite … *like* all kings at all times" That at least was the understanding of prominent early Egyptologists such as Wiedemann and Piehl., who supplied the word "like" "*gleichwie* and *comme*" to the translation. Breasted translated the passage the same way but omitted the supplied word. Thus we read "Behold, his majesty found it good to make it of costly stone [---] all kings of all time" BAR IV p. 513. For these Egyptologists there was no question of how to translate the existing hieroglyphs, only what nuance to supply to the concluding phrase. Any hesitation they may have had results from the fact that their translations are in conflict with the existing evidence in the Serapeum (as interpreted by traditional scholars). Thus Battiscombe Gunn - whose article on the inscribed coffins in the Serapeum we have been following - objected to these earlier translations, and supplied a corrected version. According to him these other prominent Egyptologists had failed to properly interpret the passage in question, the final phrase in particular. The details are unimportant. We mention this situation to draw attention to the fact that the errant traditional history often influences how Egyptologists translate hieroglyphic texts. The interested reader can evaluate the translation of Battiscombe Gunn for themselves., s.v. "Two Misunderstood Serapeum Inscriptions," ASAE 26 (1926) 92-93 Needless to say Egyptologists since the time of Gunn have accepted his argument uncritically, in spite of its weakness.

These sarcophagi were extremely large. According to Mariette: "As to their dimensions, they measure on an average 7 feet 8 inches in breadth, by 13 feet in length, and 11 feet in height, so that, allowing for the vacuum, these monoliths must weigh, one with the other, not less than 65 tons each."[233]

Figure 27: Sketch of Greater Vaults of the Serapeum Showing Location of Inscribed Sarcophagi[234]



The task of transporting the sarcophagi into the tomb must have been Herculean, notwithstanding the downhill slope. The sarcophagus and the lid, itself of considerable size and weight, were brought in separately, first the sarcophagus, then the lid.

In the traditional history the sarcophagus of the Amasis bull was placed in the gallery twenty years before the one belonging to the reign of Cambyses and two centuries before the one bearing the name of Khababash. Apparently a difficulty was encountered moving the sarcophagus lid. It appears to have become jammed part way along the entrance corridor en route to the tomb. There it was found by Mariette. The sarcophagus had earlier been moved down the same passageway and safely deposited in its own chamber. As noted by one early Egyptologist:

> The coffer and the cover are separated; the coffer is in its own chamber, but the cover lies close to the entrance and would block the thoroughfare southwards from the latter had not flights of stone steps, leading to its upper surface, been built on the northern and southern sides of it.[235]

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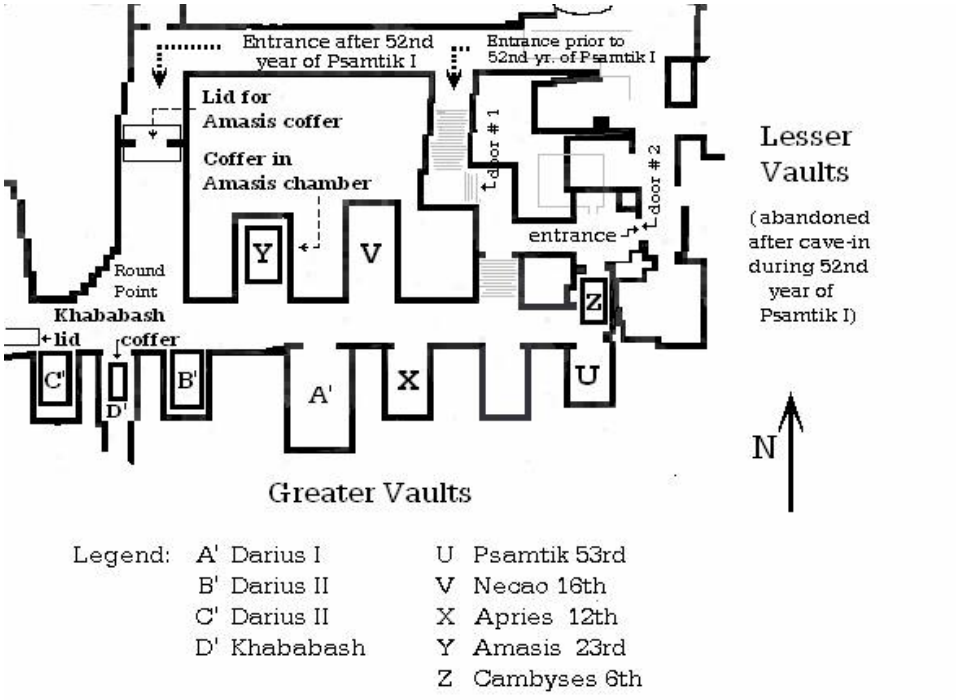
[233] Auguste Mariette, *Monuments of Upper Egypt* (1877), a translation into English of his *Itineraire de la Haute Egypte* (1872) by his brother Alphonse Mariette, p. 93.
[234] Drawing based on Fig. 1 in Battiscombe Gunn, op. cit. note 235 below, p. 82.
[235] Battiscombe Gunn, "The Inscribed Sarcophagi in the Serapeum," ASAE 26 (1926) p. 82-83.

Further down the eastern branch of the southern corridor, at the end of that branch and off from corridor, we find the sarcophagus of the Cambyses bull protruding from the back of a vestibule, the front of which opens near the entrance to the abandoned Lesser Vaults. Apparently the priests have broken open the back of the vestibule in order to gain easier access to the coffin for servicing.

The Khababash sarcophagus and lid, separated from one another, lie south and west of the point where the other two bulls had supposedly made their eastern turn into the southern corridor (the so-called "round point"). Both obstruct corridors.

For convenience we reproduce a closeup view of the relevant section of the Serapeum vaults, using as our guide a map originally produced by Mariette, edited slightly for greater clarity (see figure 28 below).

Figure 28: Closeup of the 26th and 27th dynasty section of the Greater Vaults of the Serapeum[236]



[236] Mariette's maps of the entire Greater and Lesser Vaults are reproduced in M. Malinine, G. Posener, J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Steles Du Serapeum De Memphis, Tome Premier* (1968), plans A and B following page xvi.

Multiple questions are raised by the positioning of the Saite and Persian bulls in the Greater Vaults of the Serapeum. Most must await developments in subsequent chapters. At this time we ask only two questions based on the location of the inscribed stone sarcophagi. Both require lengthy two or three page answers.

1) If the lid from the Amasis bull, which is assumed to have preceded the other two bulls in time, blocked access into the southern corridor, how did the priests move the two massive coffers of the Cambyses and Khababash bulls past the obstructing lid, assuming in fact that they arrived at their present location via this route. Steps might suffice to allow the priests or other devotees to climb over the obstruction, but it is difficult to imagine the sarcophagi following that same route. And the question applies equally to other coffins in the same vicinity as the Khababash coffer. According to Mariette, a wooden coffin from the time of Darius I, and two stone sarcophagi from the time of Darius II (which Egyptologists reassign to the time of Darius I) also followed the identical route as the coffin of the Amasis bull to their respective chambers (A', B' and C'). How did the priests move these 65 ton monoliths past the obstruction to their ultimate destination? Even assuming that the massive coffins were laboriously moved up and down the steps over the Amasis lid, and that the ceiling was sufficiently high to facilitate this transport, the question remains: Why not simply move the lid?

To be fair this argument assumes that all of the Saite and Persian dynasty bulls on the southern corridor were brought to their destination along the identical route followed by the Amasis bull. A century of scholarship has agreed with Mariette that this was the case, but recently the Serapeum specialist Vercoutter has argued otherwise.[237] In order to explain the present location of the Cambyses bull he has theorized that the route containing the jammed lid was not built until the 34th year of Darius I, and that until that date the southern corridor was constructed by degrees beginning from the east with the Psamtik bull in chamber U. Thus all bulls of the Saite dynasty, beginning with the 53rd year of Psamtik I, and all the Persian period bulls through the reigns of Cambyses and Darius I, were transported along the ancient route to the Lesser Vaults then down a flight of stairs into the Greater Vaults, travelling westward to their present locations. We both agree and disagree with Vercoutter's theory. He is correct that the route to the southern corridor past the jammed Amasis lid was not built until *around* the 34th year of Darius I, since in the revised history that date *roughly* corresponds to the 52nd year of Psamtik I, precisely when that corridor *was* built according to the revised history. He is totally incorrect, however, in assuming that the Saite dynasty and early 27th dynasty bulls must have followed the ancient route to the Lower Vaults, then detoured down to the southern corridor of the Greater Vaults. The confusion arises, as we might have expected, from the displacement of dynasties in the traditional history.

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[237] J. Vercoutter, Textes Biographiques du Serapeum de Memphis (1962) s.v." texte K", p. 75-77. We will examine Vercoutter's text K in chapter 8 (pp 265-267). It affords convincing proof of the correctness of our revised chronology.

Sufficient here to enquire how Vercoutter can defend the second part of his theory in the context of the traditional history. We wonder in particular how the Amasis lid became jammed in a corridor that was not built until 60 years after the death of the Amasis' bull?

Vercoutter has only two pieces of evidence to advance his theory. On the one hand he cites an Apis stele which dates from the 34th year of Darius which mentions the construction of a new corridor. In a later chapter we will examine this stele (see note 237). It is compelling evidence in favor of the revised history. For Vercoutter, following the traditional history, it implies that the Saite bulls must have travelled to their location in the Greater Vaults via some other route. For the revised history it implies no such thing. The second item cited by Vercoutter in defence of his theory is the presence of the Cambyses coffer outside the entrance to the Lesser Vaults. According to him that is evidence that all the Saite and Persian dynasty bulls, beginning with the bull from the 53rd year of Psamtik I through those which died in the early years of Darius I, travelled this ancient route. This part of his argument is a *non sequitur.* We reserve our criticism for the following section.

We admit that the Khababash bull, at least, might have arrived at its present location via an alternate route, especially if it does belong to the late 4th century, as argued by Egyptologists. The reader will note in figure 27 that a northern corridor was later constructed to give access to chambers further west than the Darius group of tombs. It is not known precisely when this extension of the northern entranceway was constructed, but it probably dates from late in the 5th century[238]

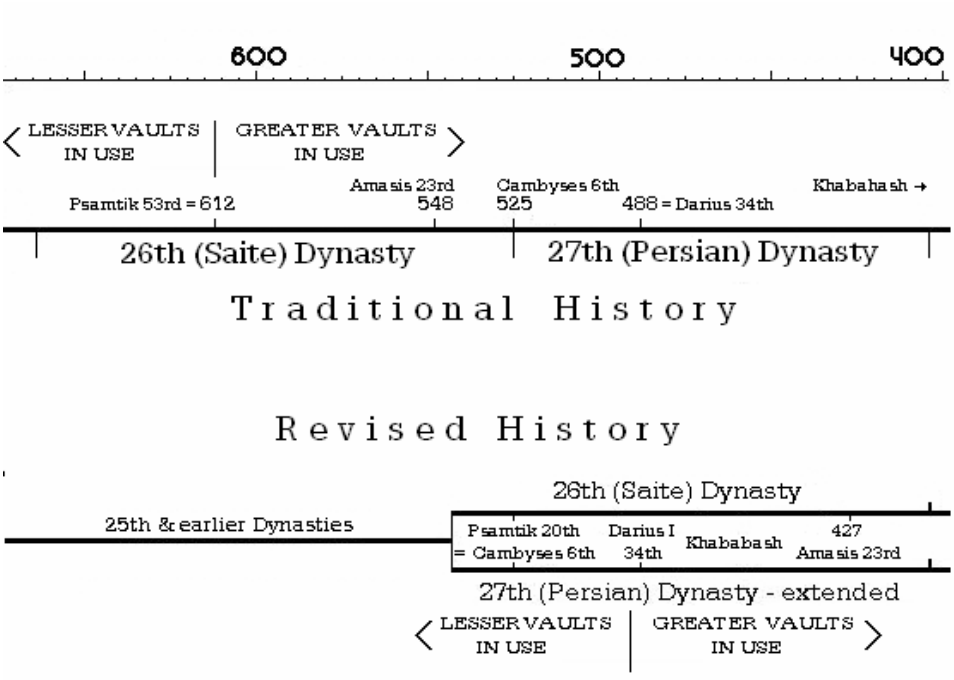
Setting aside for the moment Vercoutter's theory of an alternative route into the southern corridor of the Greater Vaults, and accepting the evidence from the tombs at face value, it appears certain that at minimum several massive sarcophagi dated to the 27th dynasty must have entered the southern corridor via the passageway blocked by the Amasis lid. And in the traditional history they all must postdate the time of Amasis. We repeat our earlier question. Why was the lid not moved?

The problem with the location of the inscribed sarcophagi, and with the coffer(s) which Mariette and contemporary Egyptologists date to the early years of the reign of Darius I, has an obvious solution. The reigns of Cambyses and Khababash and Darius I must have preceded the reign of Amasis. The Cambyses and Darius I sarcophagi were secure in

[238]The northern corridor leads off the entrance passageway above where the Amasis lid jammed in the passageway, and it extends far to the west and circuitously back to the present location of the Khababash bull. We suspect it was constructed to better facilitate the transport of these massive stone coffins, especially in view of difficulties already encountered. If so it was probably constructed soon after the 23rd year of Amasis, near the end of the 5th century.. All of the stone coffers west of the chamber C' must have entered via this route. In a moment we will argue that the stone coffers in chambers B' and C' may actually belong to the reign of Darius II, precisely as Mariette suggested. If so they may also have arrived circuitously at this destination via the northern corridor.

their burial chambers when the Amasis bull was interred and the lid jammed in the entranceway. The Khababash bull is less certain, but we question why this bull would be buried where it was if it does not belong in the interim between Darius I and Darius II. It too was likely moved through the entrance corridor before the lid became jammed. By the end of the 5th century, where Amasis properly belongs, the galleries down the eastern section of the southern corridor were fully occupied. An alternative entrance via an extended northern corridor was probably already planned. Rather than expend the effort to move the jammed coffer lid, the priests merely built steps over it to provide continued access for Serapeum personnel to the Saite/Persian tombs beyond.[239] The northern corridor off the main entrance, once constructed, was used to transport future bulls. It continued in use through dynasties 28 to 33.

Figure 29: Relative Chronology of the Bulls Deceased in the Reigns of Amasis, Cambyses, and Khababash



[239] Not only did the priests abandon the Amasis coffer lid, they left several of his stelae along the alternative route into the Saite dynasty section of the Greater Vaults. This route was apparently used by the priests when they carried items of modest size to the Greater Vaults, possibly after the lid jammed in the alternative corridor and before the steps over it had been constructed.

As suggested by the evidence of the stone coffers, the chronological order of the three named kings must have been Cambyses - Khababash - Amasis. We will have more to say later concerning both Khababash and Amasis. We are not yet finished with Cambyses. He reappears in our discussion of the life of Udjahorresne, which follows in the next chapter, and he is party to the second question related to the positioning of the stone coffers.

2) This second question concerns the location of the coffin of the Cambyses bull. In the traditional history the death of this bull (524 B.C.) followed the abandonment of the "Lesser Vaults" of the Serapeum in the 52nd year of Psamtik I (613 B.C.) by almost 90 years (see figure 29). The first bull buried in the "Greater Vaults" must have been the one deceased in Psamtik's 53rd year, followed by bulls who died during the reigns of Necao, Apries, Amasis, Cambyses, and Darius I. If this ordering is correct then how do we explain how the Cambyses coffer came to rest in a vestibule (not in a burial chamber) at the eastern extremity of the southern corridor, near the entrance to the "Lesser Vaults" and across from the chamber supposedly occupied by the bull buried in Psamtik's 53rd year? In what order were the burial chambers constructed? And which route was followed by the massive sarcophagus of the Cambyses bull as it was transported to its present location?

According to the traditional history the Saite dynasty bulls, beginning with the bull deceased in the 53rd year of Psamtik I, were carried along the entranceway noted in figure 28, past where the Amasis lid was later abandoned, as far as the "round point" at the juncture with the southern corridor. There they turned left and moved east to their respective chambers. Typically the priests only constructed the corridors far enough to accommodate each successive deceased Apis. In this instance, since the bull deceased in the 53rd year of Psamtik I is supposedly buried at the extreme eastern end of the corridor, they must have decided to initially extend the southern corridor till it reached the edge of the abandoned "lesser vaults". There they buried the Psamtik bull. Then they moved backward with subsequent burials (westward) to inter the bulls deceased under Necao, Apries, and Amasis. If this was the case we wonder whence the Cambyses coffer came to rest in its present location. In theory it should be buried next, either in gallery A' or B' near the Amasis bull which it immediately followed. And why was it located in a vestibule, not a gallery? We understand now why Vercoutter believed the Cambyses bull did not travel down the corridor blocked (later) by the Amasis lid. Its present location almost demands that this bull was transported the ancient route down to the entrance to the Lesser Vaults. According to Vercoutter it was enroute to its intended burial chamber near the Amasis bull. Then why was it abandoned? The best reason Vercoutter can come up with is that its intended burial chamber was not ready in time. Let the reader decide if that makes sense.

Something is amiss. If the Cambyses bull arrived at its present location via the ancient route leading to the Lesser Vaults, why did the Saite dynasty bulls travel a different route, this according to most Egyptologists. And if Vercoutter is correct, and they were

all transported to the Greater Vaults past the entrance to the Lesser Vaults, why was the Cambyses bull abandoned half way to its destination? The answer is readily at hand in the revised history.

In the revised history the evidence must be interpreted differently. When the Cambyses bull was buried there were no Greater Vaults. It was the 21st year of Psamtik I. The Lesser Vaults remained in use. The Cambyses coffin must have been brought into the Serapeum via the route typically taken by deceased bulls at that time (see figure 28)[240]. It was destined for burial *in* the "Lesser Vaults". Whether the massive coffin would not fit through the final entrance door (door no. 2) into the vaults[241], or whether the priests wanted no part of a coffin requisitioned by a foreign king, and therefore left it outside the sacred vaults, we do not know. Regardless, the coffer was abandoned outside the doorway, in an existing vestibule, but deep underground where the Persian authorities would never know, if indeed they cared. This vestibule was doubtless a work area for the priests, turned to this secondary use. The bull itself may have been taken inside and buried in the extreme north of the Lesser Vaults, a location where Mariette found at least 40 stelae celebrating the life of the bull deceased in Psamtik's 20th year (= the 6th year of Cambyses). But at least nine stelae of this same Psamtik/Cambyses bull were found in various locations outside the Lesser Vaults, near the entrance door no. 2, only meters from the Cambyses coffer.[242].

Any other bulls deceased under Psamtik I before that king's 53rd year must be buried in the Lesser Vaults. This is particularly the case with the hypothetical bull which died between the 20th and 53rd years of Psamtik. Here the revised history is in agreement with

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[240] This of course is precisely what was argued by Vercoutter (see above, note 237) The present location of the Cambyses coffer is what motivated this scholar to propose his theory. This location does not fit the circumstances that prevail in the interpretation of the Serapeum evidence provided by the traditional history. It could only be reached, reasonably, if the coffer was moved along the ancient route to the Lower Vaults. So far, so good. But Vercoutter was then compelled to believe that the Cambyses bull was traveling that route in order to reach the southern corridor where it was destined to be buried west of the Amasis bull.. For Vercoutter, Cambyses followed Psamtik by 90 years. The Lower Vaults were long since abandoned. They could not be the intended destination of the Cambyses bull as is the case with the revised history.

[241] In the revised history the Cambyses bull was the first to use a stone sarcophagus. This was a Persian innovation. It is quite likely that the coffin was simply too large or too cumbersome to transport into the Lesser Vaults, which were designed for the more maneuverable, and likely smaller, wooden coffins. If not the dimensions of the outer door (#2), the problem may have been with the corridor or entrance to the intended burial chamber inside.

[242] Almost half of the stelae dedicated to the bulls deceased in the 20th year of Psamtik have been published (many for the first time) in the Catalogue des Steles du Serapeum de Memphis (tome premier) by Malinine, Posener and Vercoutter (1968). These scholars have assigned yet another set of new numbers to these stelae. Elsewhere we continue to use the more familiar Louvre numeration system, this for consistency, if not to avoid confusion. Here only we use the Catalogue numbers employed by Malinine et al. At the door no. 2 Mariette found stelae nos. 193, 196, 198, 199, 201,215, 225, 238,and 251.

the traditional history. Neither has any certain knowledge of the whereabouts of this bull, nor the precise year when it died, save to state the obvious. It must be buried somewhere in the "Lesser Vaults". Which leaves us to discuss briefly the bull deceased in the 53rd year of Psamtik and supposedly buried near the Cambyses' bull, in a chamber at the eastern end of the southern corridor, Mariette's chamber U.

It should come as a surprise to no-one that we do not believe that this chamber was occupied by the final Psamtik bull. A glance at our revised timeline reveals clearly that the end of Psamtik's reign coincided with the final years of the reign of Darius I. In a later chapter we will demonstrate that the bull deceased in the 53rd year of Psamtik I is buried in chamber A', the tomb assigned by Mariette to a bull deceased late in the reign of Darius I. This Psamtik bull is the same as Vercoutter's Darius bull, dated by him to Darius' 34th year. All agree that this bull arrived at chamber A' via the passage later blocked by the Amasis lid. The passage had only just been constructed. Henceforth all bulls of the Saite and Persian dynasties would travel this route. It follows that the bulls in the Greater Vaults of the Serapeum were buried in the typical way. The entrance corridor was first dug to the position where the first bull was to be buried, then extended gradually over time to accommodate each successive burial. The southern corridor was not extended to its eastern extremity before being used, as we reasoned earlier on the assumption that the Psamtik year 53 bull rested in chamber U. The burials began in chamber A' with Vercoutter's Darius 34th year bull (= Psamtik's 53rd year bull) and gradually moved east for the burial of bulls deceased under Necao and Apries. The priests then turned back and buried the Khababash bull, and possibly another bull from the 5th year of Amasis. Finally, chamber Y was filled with the massive coffer of the bull deceased in the 23rd year of the reign of Amasis, the lid of which now obstructs the passageway to the southern corridor.

Further details concerning this sequence of burials will be provided in chapters 8 and 9, where the Apis bulls again become part of our argument.

We are left to answer one anticipated query concerning this hypothetical sequence of burials. All the evidence is accounted for with the exception of a single burial chamber. If the bull deceased in the 20th year of Psamtik was transported in the stone sarcophagus of Cambyses, and the bull deceased in the 53rd year of Psamtik is buried in chamber A', then what bull is buried in Mariette's chamber U?

We have just finished arguing that the Saite/Persian section of the southern corridor was occupied from the west, as the priests first filled chambers A', V and X and then turned back and buried the Khababash bull. They turned back because the two remaining chambers, assuming they had been excavated by this time, were conveniently positioned to act as a work area for the priests and were likely being used for that purpose, especially since the sarcophagus of the Cambyses' bull now occupied their former workshop. We note that a new set of stairs was constructed at this location, leading

down to the southern corridor from a point not far from the entrance to the Lesser Vaults. We believe they were built to give workers access to the Greater Vaults,[243] and in particular to chamber U and the adjacent chamber. Those two chambers were well situated for the storage of supplies and religious apparatus for the priests who superintended both vaults. It is surely significant that Mariette has identified no bull with the chamber situated immediately to the west of chamber U , a room now assigned the letter W by modern scholars. The only remaining question is why he identified chamber U with the name of Psamtik and why scholars continue to call this the burial chamber of the bull deceased in the 53rd year of the reign of Psamtik I.

One would think, since it is associated with Psamtik I, that chamber U must have contained multiple stelae celebrating the life of the bull deceased in the 53rd year of that king. But that is not the case. No such stelae exist. The fact that a bull was deceased that year is assumed on the basis of two pieces of evidence. The first, and by far the most compelling, is the official stela of the bull deceased in the 16th year of Wahemibre Necao, found in or near chamber V. It reveals *inter alia* that this bull was born on the 19th day of the 5th month of the 53rd year of Psamtik. Since the birth of a replacement bull typically occurs less than a year after the death of its predecessor, the Psamtik bull most likely died late in Psamtik's 52nd year or early in his 53rd year.

Confirmation is supposedly found in the stela Louvre #239, understood by many Egyptologists as recording a cave in the Lesser Vaults of the Serapeum in the 52nd year of Psamtik I. The collapse was apparently sufficiently large and intrusive that it led to the abandonment of the Lesser Vaults and the beginning of the construction of the Greater Vaults. We have mentioned the event several times previously. What we have not mentioned is the fact that this stela has been variously interpreted, some considering it as evidence that an Apis death had only recently occurred and that the collapsed ceiling took place during its burial; others, including Breasted (BAR IV 963) that this stele merely describes the restoration of a coffin so badly damaged that the decaying flesh of the Apis corpse within was exposed to view.

We will not belabour the point. In a subsequent chapter we examine Vercoutter's stela K that mentions the construction of the Greater Vaults, and we will furnish evidence that a cave-in did occur in year 52 of Psamtik, and that an Apis did die the next year. The two events were unrelated, though the cave-in did delay the burial of the Apis. The stela Louvre #239 is mentioned here for an entirely different reason.

When we asked earlier what evidence Mariette found in chamber U to suggest that this was the crypt belonging to the bull deceased in Psamtik's 53rd year, the answer was predictable. This must be the location where Louvre #239 was recovered.[244] But that

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[243] Not to transport coffers from above ground to the southern corridor of the Greater Vaults as argued by Vercoutter.

[244] The only source I have been able to find to confirm this fact is J. Vercoutter, *Textes Biographiques du Serapeum de Memphis* (1962) s.v." texte K", p. 75, note 3. Vercoutter does not

stela, as Breasted says, has nothing to do with the death of an Apis. It cannot be used to identify chamber U as a burial crypt. Mariette has misread the evidence. The stela, properly understood, is a written directive to the Serapeum personnel concerning the restoration required following the recent collapse, and it served as a reminder of the generally high standard of workmanship required of them. What better place to keep this stela than in one of the workrooms used by the Serapeum staff.

We conclude this visit to the Serapeum by reading the stela inscription:

> In the year 52 under the majesty of this good god (Psamtik I) came one to say to his majesty: This temple of thy father, Osiris Apis, and the things therein are beginning to fall to ruin [better: have collapsed to ruin]. The divine limbs are visible in his coffin, decay has laid hold of his (mortuary) chests. His majesty commanded restoration in his temple, and that it should be more beautiful than that which was there before. His majesty caused that there be done for him all that is done for a god on the day of interment. Every office had its duties, that the divine limbs might be splendid in ointment, wrappings of royal linen, and all the raiment of a god. His (mortuary) chests were of ked wood, meru wood, and cedar wood, of the choicest of every wood. Their troops were subjects of the palace, while a king's companion stood over them, levying their labour for the court… BAR IV 966

It is time to move on to Udjahorresne.

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use the same terminology we are using, but he is clearly referring to the stela Louvre 239 and he claims that it was found in Mariette's chamber 1, which is identified elsewhere (in his Figure 5 on page 76) with Mariette's chamber U.

Chapter 7: Udjahorresne - Statue & Tomb

The Udjahorresne Statue Inscription: The Preamble

Udjahorresne has appeared several times already in this revision, identified as a high official under Cambyses and Darius I who had previously held the office of navy commander under Amasis and Psamtik III. We have claimed, without supporting argument, that scholars have wrongly maligned him, falsely accusing him of collaborating with the enemy. His statuette, which found its way to Italy during the imperial Roman period and is now housed in the Vatican, contains the only inscriptional evidence, apart from Herodotus, of a chronological link between Cambyses and Amasis and Psamtik III.

This statue inscription of Udjahorresne, for the reason cited, is highly significant both for the traditional history and for the current revision. Suffice to say that were it not for the badly misinterpreted text of this monument, and particularly its alleged references to Amasis and Psamtik III, the current revision might be unnecessary. Egyptian history might already be differently structured with Amasis positioned at the end of the 5th century. The inscription begins:

> The one distinguished in the service of the great Neith, mother of the god, and in the service of the gods of Sais, the eminent one, the royal chancellor, the unique companion, highly esteemed by the king who loves him, the inspector of scribes of the d'd'.t, the chief of the great scribes of the prison (?), the director of the palace, the head of the royal navy under the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Khnemibre (Amasis), the chief of the royal navy under the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ankhkare (Psamtik III) Udjahorresne, son of the director of the palace, hrj-p priest, rnp priest, hpt-wd'.t priest, prophet of Neith who is at the head of the Saite nome Peftouoneith, ...[245]

In these introductory curriculum vitae, Udjahorresne cites among his credentials his status as admiral of the fleet under Khnemibre and Ankhkare, universally recognized as "throne names" respectively of Ahmose-sa-Neith (Amasis) and Psamtik III. Since the inscription goes on to describe Udjahorresne's activities under Cambyses and Darius I, it gives every appearance of discrediting the current thesis. For it goes without saying that if Amasis reigned in 449-405 B.C. the commander of his naval vessels could hardly have welcomed Cambyses and Darius into Egypt in 525 B.C. and 522 B.C. respectively.

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[245] Translation based on Posener, *La Premiere Domination Perse en Egypte* (1936) p. 7. Posener reads under the right arm of Udjahorresne's statue: L'honore aupres de la grande Neith, mere du Dieu, et aupres des dieux dee Sais, le Pasha, le chancelier royal, le compagnon unique, le vrai connu du roi qui l'aime, le scribe, l'inspecteur des scribes du tribunal, le chef des grands scribes de prison (?), le directeur du palais, le chef de la marine royale sous le roi de la Haute et de la Basse-Egypte Hmn-ib-R' (Amasis), le directeur du palais, le chef de la marine royale sous le roi de la Haute et de la Basse-Egypte 'nk-k'-R' (Psammetique III) Oudjahorresne."

How do we explain the dilemma?

If there is a solution, then clearly it must be found in an alternative identification of Khnemibre and Ankhkare. There is no possibility of redating the stela. We would not want to do that in any case, since the Udjahorresne inscription, properly interpreted, is not a witness against the revised history. It is one of its most powerful advocates.

The solution is not complex. There are clues in the inscription, providing we let the text speak for itself, and don't force it to agree with a preconceived history. We begin with the following observations:

1) The preamble in which Udjahorresne sets forth his credentials is a statement of what Udjahorresne is at the time of writing of the inscription. He is stating what he is, not what he was. That is, after all, the plain reading of the text, and it is the manner in which such lists of titles are typically read. When Posener argues that Udjahorresne held all these titles before the arrival of Cambyses, forfeiting only the admiralty at that time[246]; and when Lloyd argues that Udjahorresne held only the admiralty before the Persians came and that the other titles were substitutes for the loss of that office[247]; they are both speculating. The casual reader can do better than these experts. All we can claim with confidence is what the text actually says, namely, that at the time of writing Udjahorresne held all the titles listed. Nothing is said about what titles, if any, he held before Cambyses arrived in Egypt. In the end we will determine that he held none, but that conclusion does not follow from this inscription.

2) The text does not say that Udjahorresne was head of the royal navy. This might seem surprising in view of the translation provided above. But the translation is not ours. We are merely following expert opinion. The hieroglyphic text actually reads "commander of the royal kbnt boats" (imy-r kbnwt nsw). But the kbnt boat is not a warship. Historically the term referred to a large sea vessel, usually a cargo ship propelled both by sail and oar, thus particularly suited for long voyages. It was not designed specifically for warfare.[248] Remarks by the Egyptologist Alan Lloyd underscore the problematic nature of this title of Udjahorresne:

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[246] "Les titres enumeres dans ces lignes sont probablement ceux que Oudjahorresne tanait des rois indigenes. Sous les Perses, il fut confirme dans quelques-unes de ses fonctions, mais perdit sans doute le commandement de la flotte, l'inspection des scribes ... et la direction des scribes.... puisque ces trois postes ne sont plus mentionnes par la suite...", ibid. p. 9-10. .

[247] Alan B. Lloyd, "The Inscription of Udjahorresnet - A Collaborator's Testament," JEA 68 (1982), p. 168-9.

[248] Posener (op.cit) adds in a footnote: "Litt.: chef des bateaux du roi. kbn.t designe les navires de mer, cf. Sethe, AZ 45 (1908), 7-11; ici il doit s'agir de batiments de guerre, sens que kbn.t prend frequemment a l'epoque ptolemaique ..." (p.9 note (e)) There is no time to critically review Poseners references which purport to show the use of kbnt boats as warships in the Ptolemaic era, but cf. the remarks in note 6. below. Sethe's arguments in the reference cited above establish beyond question that the kbnt boat was merely a cargo vessel.

> The title imy-r kbnt does not occur before the Saite Period. In the New Kingdom the expression for Admiral of the Fleet was (hieroglyphic text omitted) imy-r 'h'w n nsw. Why should such a consciously archaizing body of men as the Saite rulers introduce or countenance such a novel term? The answer must be that something completely new had appeared which needed a novel expression to describe it.[249]

Lloyd admits that *imy-r kbnwt nsw* is not the usual way to describe the admiral of the fleet. Therefore there must be something in the historical circumstances of the Saite period in which the title arises, and in the nature of the kbnt boat itself, which gives rise to the new title. Lloyd is correct, thus far. But he goes on to suggest that the new thing which produced the new title was a change in the structure of the kbnt boat, or at least the use of that archaic term to describe a highly efficient warship patterned after the Greek trireme, a warship of innovative design making its first appearance within Egypt during the Saite dynasty. But in spite of Lloyd's argument, there is absolutely no evidence that during the Saite dynasty the old name was assigned to the trireme, or that the kbnt boat was structurally modified for military purposes.[250]

3) Khnemibre is indeed the throne name (prenomen) of Amasis, but he is not typically known by that name in the monuments. Where Amasis' throne name is recorded in inscriptions it is almost always accompanied by his personal name (nomen) in a double cartouche. More often than not only the personal name 'Ahmose-sa-Neith is employed. Ankhkare, on the other hand, is not even the throne name of Psamtik III, or of any other Egyptian pharaoh, in spite of all scholarly opinion. We do not question the existence of a Saite dynasty prince or king named Ankhka*n*re Psamtik. In a later chapter we will note his connection with the time of Psamtik II and Apries. But his throne name is Ankhkanre, not Ankhkare. The minor change in orthography may or may not be important. The meaning of the name in each case is the same. But the fact is that there is not a single occurrence within Egypt proper of the cartouche name Ankhkare, with orthography identical to that employed by Udjahorresne, throughout the several millenia of Egyptian dynastic history. Only in Nubia does that spelling of the royal name occur, and there at least five kings bear the name.

Based on the assumption that Khnemibre and Ankhkare are kings under whom Udjahorresne functioned in the capacity of "commander of the kbnt boats", apparently with the sanction of or perhaps by order of Cambyses and Darius I, we should seek their identity outside of Egypt. The small hint provided by the spelling of Ankhkare directs our attention to Nubia.

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[249] Alan B. Lloyd, "Triremes and the Saite Navy," JEA 88 (1972) p. 272.

[250] Lloyd's references, intended to prove that the kbnt boat was used in a military context prior to the Ptolemaic era, do not prove that it was a warship. The military action in all cases took place in Syria or the trans-Euphrates region. It can be argued that the kbnt boat was merely used to transport troops and supplies to the eastern Mediterranean coast, whence the troops disembarked and moved inland. We will have more to say about triremes in the next chapter.

Napatan and Meroitic kingdoms

Nubian History

When Taharka died in 664 B.C. (543 B.C. in the revised history) he was entombed at Nuri, five miles upriver from Napata, five hundred miles south of Thebes. G.A. Reisner excavated the cemetery in 1916-17.[251] It contained the pyramid tombs of Taharka and nineteen of his successors. Using an ingenious comparative method, Reisner managed to give chronological order to the twenty kings. Taking account of changes over time in style and workmanship in tomb construction, noting similar changes in quality and character of the few funerary artifacts left by the tomb robbers, following the natural lines of expansion as the cemetery filled up - with later tombs located at less favourable sites - and, finally, utilizing inscriptional information from the tombs and elsewhere, Reisner not only placed the kings in succession but managed to assign a reign length to each king. Then, beginning with the "known" dates for Taharka, he affixed absolute dates for the rulers of his "Napatan kingdom", from Taharka (688-663 B.C.)[252] down to Nastasen (328-308 B.C.). He acknowledged a large margin of error in these dates[253], though his successors have written them in stone. These Napatan kings ruled over lands that extended at least as far south as Meroe, and northward beyond the 1st cataract. The capital, according to Reisner, remained at Napata throughout the period in question.

Between the years 1920-22[254] Reisner excavated other cemeteries at Begarawiyeh,

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[251] G.A. Reisner, "Preliminary Report on the Harvard-Boston Excavations at Nuri: The Kings of Ethiopia after Tirhaqa," Harvard African Studies II (1918) pp. 1-64; figs. 1-54; plates i-xvii. For a comprehensive list of the Nubian excavations of Reisner see Dows Dunham, "Notes of the History of Kush," AJA 50 (1946) pp. 378 & 380.

[252] Many scholars place Taharka's death in 663 B.C. instead of 664 B.C. and many also assume that his reign lasted into his 26th year, rather than 26 full years. The almost universal acceptance of the date 664 B.C. can be attributed to R.A. Parker, whose article "The Length of Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty," MDAIK 15 (1957) 208-212 argued the case, based on lunar dates, for beginning the Saite dynasty at that date. The year 1957 is therefore a watershed date. All scholars prior to that time (except Flinders Petrie) begin the Saite dynasty in 663 B.C. and most scholars subsequent to 1957 use the date 664 B.C. In Table 1 we use the dates 690-664 B.C as the basis of the 121 years reduction, rather than Reisner's 688-663 B.C.

[253] Reisner provides (op.cit. p.63) a maximum and a minimum estimate of the reign length of each king, followed by a mean or average of these figures. In his chronology he uses numbers only slightly lower than the average. It is important to note that Reisner's maximum and minimum extimates for the combined reigns of all the Napatan kings at Nuri (omitting Atlanersa since at this early date Reisner had wrongly identified Atlanersa's tomb as belonging to Tanuatamon) were 655 years and 216 years, an incredible variation. In his final chronology the Napatan kings are assigned 380 years. In our revised chronology we use 220 years, only slightly above Reisner's minimum.

[254] G.A. Reisner, "The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: A Chronological Outline," JEA 9 (1923) pp. 34-77; plates v-xx.

ancient Meroe, four hundred miles upriver (south) from Napata. They were found to contain royal burials. The Meroitic South cemetery contained the tombs of three kings, Arikakaman, Yesruwaman, and Kaltaly, as well as six queens. Several hundred yards to the north, the Meroitic North cemetery held an additional 30 kings and 6 queens, successors of the South cemetery group.

It was Reisner's understanding that these 33 Meroitic kings began ruling in the years almost immediately following the Napatan kings, i.e., in 300 B.C., and that they ruled continuously into the fourth century A.D.[255] There was only one minor adjustment to be made. One cemetery remained unaccounted for.

A burial ground near Gebel Barkal, not far from Napata, contains, *inter alia*, two groups of pyramids tombs (known as the Barkal Pyramids) succinctly described by Dunham as follows:

> At Gebel Barkal there are two groups of pyramids. In the largest tomb of the older group (Barkal, Pyramid XI) Reisner places a nameless king who, he suggests, intervened between Nastasen, last king buried at Nuri, and Arikakaman, first king buried at Meroe South Cemetery. Since there was no room at Nuri for further royal pyramid construction after Nastasen, owing to the unsuitable quality of the underlying rock which precluded excavation of the necessary subterranean chambers, the earlier Barkal group may well represent a king of the Napatan clan, and a few of his descendants, who refused to abandon the old burial tradition, and who set up a short-lived kingdom at Napata in rivalry with the branch of the family represented by Arikakaman and his successors. The second group at Barkal Reisner assigned to a line of l9 local rulers of Napata who reigned there independently of the main line at Meroe during the 1st century B.C. ...p. 386-7

Reisner called these two independent groups of kings his "first and second Meroitic kingdoms at Napata".[256] According to him the first group ruled from 308-225 B.C. with a brief interregnum (283-275 B.C.) following the initial king, and the second ruled from 100-22 B.C. An Ethiopian chronology was thus established consisting of a Napatan dynasty lasting till 308 B.C., ending with Nastasen, followed immediately by the first group of Barkal kings in Napata and, after a brief pause, by the kings of a Meroitic

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[255] Reisner himself significantly increases the number 33. He adds 8 kings from yet another cemetery at Barkal (Napata) (see below), and he admits the possibility that at least the queens, if not the crown princes from Begarawiyeh may have been reigning monarchs. "The tombs of the queens, however, especially in view of the prevailing legend of a long line of reigning queens, and those of the crown-princes and princesses must also be considered, as well as the three small tombs in N. Cem. of which the sex of the owners is doubtful. Thus a total of 68 royal tombs is available for a study of the chronology for a period which may be roughly estimated at six to seven centuries" Op.cit. p. 35.

[256] Ibid., pp. 63-65.

kingdom who, with the two exceptions noted, governed the whole of Ethiopia for the balance of the pre-Christian era and beyond into the 4th century A.D. This chronology has prevailed to the present.

But this contrived chronology is unreliable for many reasons. We note specifically that

1) Reisner begins his Napatan kingdom with dates for Taharka which we consider to be seriously in error;
2) his assigned reign lengths are arbitrary and several have subsequently been proved incorrect;
3) many aspects of kingship in Ethiopia, such as the practice of brother to brother succession and of overlapping reigns were not fully understood before the excavations at Kawa shortly after Reisner's death[257]; and
4) Reisner himself noted that the cemeteries at Napata, Meroe and Barkal contain too many kings to fit in the historical time frame allowed, an important consideration which suggests the possibility that the Meroitic and Napatan kingdoms overlapped one another for a much longer period of time than suggested by Reisner.

This final problem is exacerbated in the revised chronology, which lowers the dates of Taharka and his immediate successors by over a century while leaving unchanged the known historical conclusion of the Meroitic kingdom.

With these considerations in view we argue for changes to Reisner's chronological scheme. However, before we make changes to a long-standing tradition, we make one preliminary enquiry. Since Udjahorresne served under Cambyses and Darius I, whose reigns must have been coterminous with one or more of Reisner's Napatan kings, we wonder whether there exists any evidence of Persian involvement in Ethiopian affairs which might guide our suggested revision and provide a context for Udjahorresne's "naval command"? We answer our own query.

Persian Suzerainty over Ethiopia and the Emergence of Meroe

It is clear from two strands of evidence that Cambyses invaded Ethiopia soon after his arrival in Egypt. In the first place, his successors Darius and Xerxes claim Ethiopia as a vassal state, a fact that can be most easily explained if Cambyses conquered Ethiopia. Secondly, classical authors state explicitly that Cambyses was militarily active as far south as Meroe.

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[257] By far the most comprehensive discussion on Nubian genealogy is found in the Appendix to M.F.Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I: The Inscriptions* (1949), pp. 119-130. Some of Macadam's conclusions are quite controversial

Wainwright summarizes the Persian references:

> At Persepolis, Darius includes Ethiopia (Kusa) as part of 'the kingdom which I hold' and again at Hamada. At Naqs-i-Rustam he includes the Ethiopians as well as the Egyptians among those who 'bore tribute to me' and again at Susa. Another inscription of his at Susa says that the ivory used in decorating the palace there 'was brought from Ethiopia' among other countries, and the great tribute procession at Persepolis includes Ethiopians who bring a giraffe. Herodotus says (vii, 69) that the Ethiopians sent a contingent to the armies of Xerxes, the successor of Darius, and at Persepolis Xerxes not only lists the Egyptians but also the Ethiopians among 'the countries of which I was king. Thus, we have evidence of Ethiopian subservience to Persia during some forty-five years which would not have been the case if at least some part of the country had not been conquered.[258]

While we can reasonably infer from these references that Persian suzerainty over Ethiopia originated with Cambyses, the case is strengthened by historical traditions preserved by several classical authors. Again we look to Wainwright for the details:

> By the first century B.C. Cambyses had become so intimately connected with Meroe that Diodorus (l:33) says that he founded the city and called it after his mother, while Strabo (17:1:5) merely says that it was he who gave it its name. Strabo, however, adds that he did this because his sister Meroe or as some say, his wife, died there. Later again, about A.D. 90, Josephus says that Cambyses changed the name of the city from Saba to Meroe after the name of his own sister. (Antiquities of the Jews, 2:10) This idea of the founding or naming of the city by Cambyses seems clearly to have grown out of the knowledge that Meroe rose to power at about the time of the Persian invasion.[259]

This evidence of Persian activity in Nubia finds no place in Reisner's chronology. According to him the successors of Taharka ruled from Napata with no apparent interference from Persia. Meroe does not come into prominence until the death of Nastasen in 300 B.C., when Arikakaman became its first resident king. Something is amiss.

Dows Dunham - a colleague of Reisner during most of the Nubian excavations - only shortly after Reisner's death in 1942 modified some aspects, though not the underlying chronological structure, of Reisner's Nubian history. He argued that already very early in the 25th dynasty period Meroe emerged as an important provincial center rivalling but subservient to Napata. According to him Meroe was at this time controlled "by people of the same stock, whether governors appointed by the ruling family at Napata or nominally independent cousins of the same racial origin." Following the close of the

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[258] G.A. Wainwright, "The Date of the Rise of Meroe, JEA 38 (1952), p.76
[259] Ibid.

25th dynasty, "with loss of control over Egypt and the resultant falling off in the lucrative traffic with that country, the economic basis of prosperity began to shift and the city of Meroe assumed a growing importance"[260]

> It is, I believe, clear that the Kings of Kush, fairly soon after they had lost control over Egypt, began to make Meroe their habitual residence. Very probably the centre of administration followed economic pressure and Meroe became the political capital of the country at this time. But Napata, the traditional centre of Amon-worship, remained the religious capital long after the government had moved to a more convenient location. The king, according to custom, was buried in the royal cemetery at Nuri ...DHK 386

The shift of capital from Napata to Meroe, according to Dunham, came about gradually, but was essentially completed by the time of Malenaqen, whose dates are 553-538 B.C. in Reisner's chronology. During the whole of this transition period there existed in Napata and Meroe two rival clans or families, the dominant Napatan kings ruling in Napata, and their non-royal brethren who governed Meroe. Reisner's artificial Napatan kingdom-Meroitic kingdom distinctions thus become blurred, though his chronology remains unchanged. Dunham's comments on the matter are worth quoting:

> Reisner has named the period between the close of the 25th Dynasty and the death of Nastasen the Napatan Kingdom, because these kings had their tombs at Nuri and he assumed that Napata was the seat of government. I believe this assumption to be incorrect and that we are not justified in making so clear-cut a distinction between two kingdoms. While there was undoubtedly a shift of the capital from Napata to Meroe, I am convinced that the change was a gradual one, and that in everything but the burial place of the kings and the observances of the Amon cult, it took place much earlier than was formerly supposed. The ruling class was divided into two clans or families, one with headquarters at Napata and the other living at Meroe. They were closely related and shared a common culture. The Napatan group was the dominant one during the early period, and from it sprang the kings buried at El Kurruw and Nuri. ... During this early period the Meroitic group were not royal, and they were buried in unpretentious graves in the West Cemetery close to the city. At the same time there resided at Meroe a considerable group of people of the Napatan family, representatives of the politically dominant group, many of them no doubt holding positions of authority in the provincial city on behalf of the central government. They buried their dead in the more isolated South Cemetery. When the growing economic importance of Meroe induced the kings to spend an increasing part of their time there, and eventually to govern from that city, they doubtless began also to marry women from the Meroitic aristocracy in

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[260] Dows Dunham, "Notes of the History of Kush," AJA 50 (1946) p.385-6. This article is hereafter referred to as DHK & page no.

> addition to wives from their own Napatan clan. ... If, as I believe, the South Cemetery was that of the Napatan residents at Meroe, it would be the logical place to build their tombs once the traditional pull back to Nuri had become sufficiently weakened to be no longer compelling. On this assumption, therefore, I suggest that the three kings buried in the South Cemetery were of Napatan origin. DHK 386

According to Dunham's hypothesis Meroe was the *de facto* capital of Nubia by the time of Nalmaye, the seventh king after Taharka. Nalmaye's dates in Reisner's scheme were 538-533 B.C. This conceptual change in the importance of the two prominent Nubian cities brought about a semblance of correspondence between Nubian history and the Greek historians. By the time of Cambyses, according to Dunham's interpretation of the data, Meroe was indeed the Nubian capital. Reisner's chronology, meanwhile, remained intact. Dunham's changes related only to the location from which the Napatan kings ruled, not to the time in which they lived.

Dunham's modest changes have not blunted the criticism raised earlier. There are still too many kings in Reisner's scheme, reign lengths remain arbitrary and at times excessively long, and Cambyses and the Persians are still out of the picture. Change is necessary, and any change must begin with the reduction of Reisner's dates by 121 years. Table 13 (on the following page)lists the kings of Reisner's Napatan kingdom and the initial kings of his Meroitic kingdom, alongside of the revised dates that result from the 121-year reduction introduced by the revised history. This should provide the stage on which further changes can be imposed. It is surprising how little will need to be changed.

With reference to Table 13 we make the following observations:

1) Reisner has divided both the Napatan and Meroitic kingdoms into subgroups of kings having greater than usual affinity with one another. This division into groups suggests the existence of some discontinuity between one group of kings and the next. Reisner provides no explanation of the cause of these alleged breaks in the tradition. He simply notes their existence. We can do no more than place his remarks on record. According to Reisner

> all the royal tombs at Nuri are constructed on the same general plan ... nevertheless, certain differences in form, construction, and material arrest the attention. An examination of these differences results in the division of the pyramids into four groups which are indicated ... by the letters a,b,c and d. This grouping is borne out by the objects found in and about the pyramids as well as by other evidences, and thus becomes a matter of prime importance for the chronological order of the pyramids.[261]

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[261] G.A. Reisner, "Preliminary Report on the Harvard-Boston Excavations at Nuri: The Kings of

Table 13: Napatan & Meroitic Kingdoms According to Reisner/Dunham[262]

Napatan Kings	Reisner	Revised	Napatan Kings	Reisner	Revised
Group a			Group d		
Taharka	688-663	570-543	Malewiayaman	453-423	332-302
Tanuatamon	663-653	543-532	Talakhaman	423-418	302-297
Atlanersa	653-643	532-522	Aman-nete-yerike	418-398	297-277
Senkamenseken	643-623	522-502	Baskakeren	398-397	277-276
			Harsiotef	397-362	276-241
Group b			(Piankhalara)	362-342	241-221
Anlamani	623-593	502-472	Akhratan	342-328	221-207
Aspalta	593-568	472-447	Nastasen	328-308	207-187
Amtalqa	568-553	447-432			
Melanaqan	553-538	432-417	Barkal Kings:		
Nalma'aye	538-533	417-412		308-283	187-162
				275-225	154-104
Group c					
Netaklabataman	533-513	412-392	Meroitic Kings:		
Karkaman	513-503	392-382	Group a		
Astabarqaman	503-478	382-357	Arikakaman	300-280	179-159
Sa'asheriqa	478-458	357-337	Yesruaman	280-265	159-144
Nasakhma	458-453	337-322	Kaltaly	265-255	144-134

Ethiopia after Tirhaqa," Harvard African Studies II (1918), p. 23

[262] Taken verbatim from Reisner's article "The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: A Chronological Outline," JEA 9 (1923) p.75. Dunham follows these dates exactly.

The relative ordering of three of these groups of kings is certain. According to Reisner "the presence of the pyramid of Tirhaqa in group a, of that of Aspalta in group b, and of those of Harsiotef, Piankhalara, and Nastasen in group d, leaves no room for doubt as to the order of these three groups."[263] The placement of group c between groups b and d was based on more subjective considerations.

2) Reisner arbitrarily assigned reign lengths in multiples of five years - as much as thirty-five years for Harsiotef and thirty years for Anlamani and Malewiayaman; as little as five years in the case of Nalma'aye, Nasakhma and Talakhaman. Eight kings are said to have ruled for twenty or twenty-five years. There is no justification for many of these large numbers.[264] These excessively large reign lengths will arguably result in increased error the further we progress into the Napatan kingdom. In the earlier period Reisner's dates should provide a workable framework in which to incorporate further changes.

3) Several of the kings listed can be safely omitted from the table. We cannot be certain that Tanuatamon ruled in Nubia. According to our revision Cyrus expelled him from Lower Egypt in 543 B.C. and, depending on the date when Mentuemhet began his restoration in Thebes, he may have ruled in Thebes or in upper Nubia for the balance of his life. It is important to note that his tomb is located in the Barkal cemetery, not at Nuri with the rest of the successors of Taharka. Apparently he does not belong in the lineage of Taharka.[265] Since his inclusion has depressed dates of subsequent kings by ten years, all following reign lengths can be increased by that amount. Reisner's inclusion of Piankalara is another error that can be immediately corrected by simply omitting him from the list and increasing subsequent dates by a further twenty years. His very existence is questioned, though he is usually identified as the occupant of a tomb built on the outskirts of the El Kurruw cemetery along with the ancestors of Taharka. Though not buried in the Nuri cemetery, Reisner included him among his Napatan kings based solely on a questionable interpretation of a stela inscription of Nastasen.

4) Dunham's suggestion that the Napatan kings completely transferred capitals from Napata to Meroe only shortly before the reign of Nalmaye no longer harmonizes the Nubian chronology with the tradition associating Cambyses with the rise of Meroe. In

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[263] Ibid., p. 28

[264] With the sole exception of Harsiotef whose stela inscription mentions his 35th year. Cf. E.A. Wallis Budge, The Egyptian Sudan, 2 volumes (1986 edition)) (originally published 1907), ii: 75-82. Notice also that he gives but a single year to Baskakeren. The reasons are not important.

[265] In our discussion of Tanuatamon we noted that he rose to power in Meroe immediately following the death of Taharka. If Dunham is correct we can assume he was the ruling member of one of the rival clans related to but subservient to Taharka, and that he used this opportunity to expand his sphere of influence. It is also possible that after Tanuatamon left Napata for conquest in Egypt, Atlanersa took control of the Napatan throne and that henceforth Tanuatamon was prevented from returning to Nubia, other than for burial. It is significant that he was denied burial in the Nuri cemetery and that his pyramid tomb at El Kurruw is quite modest.

the revised chronology Nalmaye lived a century after Cambyses. Instead, the reduction of dates produced in Table 13 places Cambyses' arrival in Egypt coincident with the reign of Senkamenseken. It might even have brought that reign to its end. If the classicists are correct we should look for the emergence of an independent Meroitic kingdom around the time of Anlamani, the successor of Senkamenseken.

The stage is set to propose three alterations to the existing structure of Reisner's Ethiopian history. We begin by reversing the order of Reisner's' groups c and d. We have already noted that while the relative order of groups a, b, and d is firmly established, the placement of group c by Reisner was not so clearly defined. We continue by reducing the reign lengths of the kings in each group, a reduction which has the effect of moving back the absolute dates of the individual kings, the size of the displacement increasing the further removed those kings are from the beginning of the dynasty. These two alterations are inconsequential for the argument that follows. They are included to be referenced in later chapters of this revision.

The third change is the only one critical for what follows. In order to harmonize the Persian and classical sources with Nubian history it is necessary to assume the beginning of the Meroitic kingdom around the time of Cambyses. Dunham apparently felt the need to do so and interpreted the data to identify that beginning with the reign of Nalmaye. With the 121 year reduction in dates an alternative interpretation is needed which explains the emergence of Meroe as a capital city in the days of Anlamani.

Since Reisner himself acknowledges that the kings buried in the South cemetery of Meroe, his Meroitic Kingdom Group a, are the first kings of the independent Meroitic kingdom, it follows that they must have ruled shortly after the arrival of Cambyses in Egypt, that is, near the beginning, not at the end, of the sequence of Napatan kings. Accordingly we move this group of three kings backward in time and identify them as contemporaries of Reisner's NK Group b. Table 14 incorporates all three changes. There follows a brief apologetic, which will lead us back to Udjahorresne.

Table 14: Revised Ethiopian History

Kings Resident in Napata	Kings Resident in Meroe
NK Group a (570-525 B.C.)	
Taharka	
Atlanersa	
Senkamenseken	
ARRIVAL OF CAMBYSES	
NK Group b (525-472 B.C.)	MK Group a (525-472 B.C.)
Anlamani	Arikakaman
Aspalta	Yesruaman
Amtalqa	Kaltali
Meleneqan	
Nalmaye	
INVASION OF PSAMTIK II	
	NK Group d (472-400 B.C.)
	Malewiyaman
	Talakhaman
	Aman-nete-yerike (Neferkara)
	Baskakeren
	Harsiotef
	Akhratan
	Nastasen
INVASION OF KBDJ	
	NK Group c (400-350? B.C.)

The following brief remarks must suffice to explain and defend this revision:

1) We omit Reisner's arbitrary assignment of individual king dates, choosing rather to assign dates to each dynastic group. The combined reign lengths of the kings in each of these groups is approximately one-half that of the combined numbers ultimately assigned by Reisner to those same kings, but agrees almost exactly with his minimum figures.[266]

2) We acknowledge the reasonableness of Dunham's argument that a significant movement south occurred either during or immediately prior to the reign of Nalmaye. Accordingly we move the capital of Reisners NKd kings at this time from Napata to Meroe.

3) We attempt to explain the breaks in tradition assumed by Reisner when he introduced his various dynastic groups. The first such break (following the 121 year reduction in dates), the one that distinguished NKa from NKb, falls so near the date of Cambyses arrival in Egypt, that there can be no doubt as to its cause. The 45 years thus allotted to the NKa kings Taharka, Atlanera and Senkamenseken, made up of 27 years for Taharka and approximately nine each for the latter two kings, is not entirely out of line, since Reisner estimates 10 years each as a minimum figure. It is not implied here that Cambyses actually set foot in Napata or Meroe. The Nubians may have capitulated at the mere threat of an armed intrusion. But Anlamani and Arikakaman must certainly

[266] The following table compares the combined reign lengths for the kings in each group used by the revised chronology with that employed in Reisner's chronology and with the minimum estimates made by Reisner in his "Preliminary Report on the Harvard-Boston Excavations at Nuri: The Kings of Ethiopia after Tirhaqa," Harvard African Studies II (1918) p 63. We omit the reigns of Tanuatamon and Piankhalara from the calculations.

Dynastic Group	Reisner Chronology	Reisner Minimum Estimate	Revised Chronology
NKa	55 years	47 years	45 years
NKb	90 years	46 years	53 years
NKc	80 years	41 years	50 years
NKd	125 years	66 years	72 years
total NK	340 years	200 years	220 years

have become vassals of the Persian king. There is a hint in the only extant historical inscription of Anlamani, that the relationship was fraught with tension, and that Anlamani later attacked a garrison of Persians, with some success.[267]

3) The assigned date of 472 B.C. for the break between NKb and NKd is deliberately chosen to correspond with an invasion of Ethiopia that is known to have taken place in the 3rd year of Psamtik II. We can only hypothesize that this invasion, which likely caused extensive damage to Napata, also drove Nalmaye south to seek a new capital. (The matter will be discussed further in chapter nine) Perhaps he, in turn, displaced the dynasty of independent kings at Meroe (MK a). If so, it must be assumed that the remaining kings of the Meroitic kingdom, those buried in Meroe's north cemetery, regained power after NKc. Other scenarios are possible. Much of this is, of course, only conjecture, but having read Dunham's explanation of the emergence of the Meroitic capital we recognize that conjecture and speculation are the operative words when it comes to Nubian history. There is very little hard evidence. The fact of an invasion of Nubia by Psamtik II in his 3rd year (472 B.C.) is incontrovertible. The fact that Amannete-yerike, the third king following Psamtik's invasion, chose Psamtik's throne name Neferkara as his own, is also certain. Beyond that, we can only say that we are for the most part following Reisner's scheme, assuming reign lengths within the range of possibilities that he established.

3) The cause of the break in tradition following Nastasen, the last of the Napatan group d kings, may be related to another invasion originating in Egypt, this time by Kbdj, the eunuch who functioned in an administrative capacity under Amyrtaeus, who betrayed his master, joined Bagapates, and invaded Egypt around 400 B.C. This individual has twice already been confused with Cambyses by modern scholars. The matter will be taken up again in chapter eleven where that same confusion will be evidenced once again.

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[267] The inscription is number VIII in Macadam's *Temples of Kawa* , pp. 44-50 (cf. note 13). Anlamani states that "His Majesty sent his army against the country of Belhe, [the] chief [courtier (?)] of His Majesty being commander thereof. His Majesty went not against them, remaining in his palace issuing commands after ..... of Re after he had become king. A great slaughter was made of them, innumerable; [then] they [captured] four men and they were brought as living captives. They took all their women, all their children, [all] their beasts and all their [belongings]. He appointed them to be man- and maidservants for all the gods. This land rejoiced in [his] time, with every wish fulfilled, every man sleeping until daylight, and there were no desert-dwellers who rebelled in his time, so greatly did his father Amun love him." This may well describe nothing more than a raid on a neighbouring group of desert dwellers, the view of most scholars. We mention the incident because of the apparent connections between the Belhe in this text and a group called the Md' encountered by subsequent generations of Nubian kings. It is entirely possible that Belhe = Berhe is a reference to the Persians (i.e. = Perhe), assuming a confusion of the sounds "b" and "p". If so we wonder whether the Md' are the Medes. Cf. the discussion in Macadam, op.cit. p.49, note 37, where the suggestion is made that the two ethnic terms "might on occasion have been loosely used for one another." If this was a rebellion on the part of Anlamani, it probably occurred later than the time of Udjahorresne. Unfortunately the date on the stela is obscured.

4) The placement of the Meroitic south cemetery kings (MKa) as contemporaries of Anlamani and his immediate successors is not based solely on the classical evidence. The only extant inscription of any of these three kings outside of Meroe is the usurpation by Yesruaman of the inscription on the bases of two monumental lion statues excavated from the Barkal temple B1100. These statues were made originally by Amenhotep III of the Egyptian 18th dynasty and were apparently brought to Barkal by Piankhi. At the very least these cartouche names are indicative of the power and far ranging authority of this Meroitic king. Reisner interprets the inscriptions as evidence that Yesruawamen ruled briefly at Napata[268], but that is surely reading too much into one inscription. What they do argue, however, is an early date for Yesruamen. This statue inscription surely precedes the destruction of Napata and transfer of the Napatan capital in 472 B.C. Thereafter Barkal ceased functioning as a cult center.

In this connection mention should be made of the existence of inscriptions of Napatan group b kings at Meroe. Dunham informs us, based on Garstang's excavations at Meroe, that "Taharka seems to have erected at least one building there" and that "four generations later the name of Anlamani occurs frequently on inscriptions..., as do also those of his immediate successors Aspalta, Amtalqa and Malenaqan." Elsewhere he suggests that this inscriptional material was associated with extensive building activity. He notes that Meroe "appears to have been very large" and "contained at least one building associated with Tirhaqa, several others in which the names of Aspalta, Amtalqa, and Malenaqan were of frequent occurrence, and considerable evidence of occupation by later Napatan and Meroitic rulers".

Taharka's building at Meroe is not surprising. He was denied access to Egypt and lived out his life in Napata. That he should direct his attention southward to Meroe is not surprising. But how do we explain the flurry of activity, which appears to occur in Meroe beginning with the reign of Anlamani? It is important to note that the inscriptions that document the presence of Anlamani and his immediate successors at Meroe are coterminous with the inscriptions of Yesruwamen on the lion statues at Napata. What are we to make of this?

We do not agree with Dunham that the inscriptions of Anlamani and his immediate successors at Meroe indicate that they had taken up permanent residence there, any more than we agree with Reisner that Yesruamen's inscriptions prove that he ruled in Napata. According to our revised chronology the kings of NKb and MKa were both vassals of Persia. Commercial and diplomatic interaction between the two groups would be imperative under a Persian administration, and is particularly understandable if we adopt Dunham's hypothesis that the two groups were related. The inscriptions merely illustrate the extent of the interchange between the two capitals.

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[268] G.A. Reisner, "The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: A Chronological Outline," JEA 9 (1923) p.65. To explain this Reisner was forced to assume a break in the dynasty of Barkal kings of his first Meroitic Kingdom at Napata (see table 1)

We can further anticipate that Cambyses would have a governor domiciled in the area to regulate Persian interests. And the transport of "tribute" down the Nile would require a fleet of transport ships and an official to supervise the enterprise.

Enter Udjahorresne.

The final and most significant argument in favor of the revised placement of Napatan and Meroitic dynastic groups NKb and MKa is the resulting agreement with the state of affairs known to have existed in Egypt at this time. At the very least the revised Nubian chronology provides a probable explanation for the troublesome detail on the Udjahorresne stela that prompted this lengthy digression. On the assumption that tribute from Ethiopia was transported to Egypt under command of a Persian appointee named Udjahorresne, and that the mode of transportation was the kbnt boat, we are now able to explain how Udjahorresne was able to describe himself as "the head of the royal navy (kbnt boats) under the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Khnemibre, (and) the chief of the royal navy (kbnt boats) under the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ankhkare". For the reader is by now anticipating, and is therefore not surprised to learn, that the throne name of Anlamani is Ankhkare, and the throne name of Arikakaman is Khnemibre.

The critic will no doubt cry foul and claim that we have manipulated chronology to suit our purposes. But in fact we have merely followed expert opinion. Ankhkare (Anlamani), who identifies himself as "king of Upper and Lower Egypt" as in the Udjahorresne statue inscription, was already at hand once Reisner's dates were reduced by 121 years. Anlamani's dates were only marginally reduced and that within limits established by Reisner himself, as explained above.

The case for Arikakaman is no less defensible. Several thousand years ago classical historians argued the fact that the Meroitic kingdom began around the time of Cambyses. Dows Dunham has echoed the opinion in the twentieth century. The unique burial location of the three Meroitic south cemetery kings clearly established them as the first reigning Meroitic kings, a fact conceded by Reisner. And the first of these kings was Arikakaman. The conclusion follows naturally that Arikakaman (Khnemibre) was ruling Meroe around 525 B.C. Is it only coincidence that this king, the only viable candidate for the Meroitic throne at this time, bore the throne name Khnemibre[269], and, like Anlamani, referred to himself as "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt"?[270]

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[269] The fact that no other Nubian king bore this name, at least according to extant inscriptional evidence, only compounds the improbability of this "coincidence".

[270] The two hieroglyphs translated "king of Upper and Lower Egypt" which prefaced the first cartouche name of Egyptian kings (otherwise called the throne name or prenomen) was loosely employed within Egypt, being used by kings who ruled over relatively small city states. But outside of Egypt its use can only be understood if the king bearing the title felt some claim to the Egyptian throne. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the title used by the immediate descendants of Taharka, including Anlamani, who were not yet resigned to the fact that Nubian control of Egypt had come to an end. Dunham found it remarkable, however, that the Napatan kings,

Udjahorresne Statue Inscription: The Biography

Udjahorresne: Liberator or Collaborator?

Udjahorresne has been widely condemned as a collaborator, in spite of the self-adulating tones of his inscription. On the mistaken assumption that he was in command of the defeated naval branch of the armies of Amasis and Psamtik III, and has defected to the enemy, the balance of his inscription has been badly misinterpreted. After his introductory recitation of titles he continues.

> The Great King of All Foreign Lands, Cambyses, came to Egypt, the foreigners of all foreign lands with him. In its entirety did he gain mastery of this land, they setting themselves down therein. He was the Great Ruler of Egypt, and the Great Chief of All Foreign Lands, His Majesty handing over to me the office of Chief Physician, having caused me to be beside him as a Companion and Controller of the Palace when I had made his royal titulary in his name of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Mesuti-re (sc. Offspring of Re)... I made supplication in the presence of the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Cambyses, concerning all the foreigners who had settled in the temple of Neith to drive them therefrom so as to cause the temple of Neith to be in all its beneficial powers as in its primal condition, so that His Majesty commanded that all the foreigners who had settled in the temple of Neith be expelled, that all their houses be demolished and all their abominations which were in their temple ... and his Majesty commanded that the temple of Neith be purified and that its people be restored to it ... the priesthood of the temple. His Majesty commanded that offerings should be given to Neith, the Great One, the Mother of the God, and to the great gods who are in Sais as it was earlier. His Majesty commanded that all their festivals should be [organized] and their feasts of manifestation, as was done earlier. This did His Majesty do because I had caused His Majesty to recognize the greatness of Sais. (lines 11-30)[271]

Udjahorresne describes Cambyses travelling about purifying temples, installing priests, and re-instituting temple offerings and festivals. The Persian king thus portrayed bears no resemblance to the vicious madman described by Herodotus. Neither can the special treatment afforded Udjahorresne by Cambyses be construed as that of a benevolent conqueror toward a naval commander who has just opposed him in battle. The scene

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through the duration of Reisner's Napatan kingdom, continued "calling themselves Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, and laying claim to a sovereignty which they could no longer exercise." [DHK 385] But the use of the title by a Meroitic king, living four hundred miles further up the Nile, is even more incomprehensible, unless that king were only removed from the 25th dynasty by decades, rather than by centuries. We surmise that Arikakaman (Khnemibre) was closely related to Tanuatamon and more distantly to Taharka.

[271] Lloyd, "Inscription of Udjahorresnet," pp. 169-70.

described by Udjahorresne perplexes interpreters. It sounds as if he is sincerely welcoming Cambyses. His words do not suit the historical situation in which the narrative is placed. But they fit precisely the conditions we expect at the end of a prolonged period of exile during which destroyed and abandoned temples have sat vacant, temple services in abeyance, and temple enclaves turned into shelters for intruders. Udjahorresne is not a turncoat; he is an exile returning home in triumph and placing himself at the service of Persian masters who are not the cause, but the cure for the country's ills.

The portion of the inscription quoted above informs us that Cambyses, immediately following his arrival in Egypt, proceeded to consolidate Persian control of the country. There is not the slightest hint in the language that this “gaining mastery of the land" of Egypt involved armed conflict, though that possibility is not precluded. We cannot rule out the fact that there may have been some challenge to Persian authority that motivated the expedition to Egypt. But there is no suggestion in the inscription that Cambyses is here conquering Egypt for the first time. We have documented elsewhere that Cambyses dated his rule in Egypt from the moment he inherited the Persian throne at the death of Cyrus.[272] And according to Udjahorresne, when Cambyses arrived, he was already "the Great Ruler of Egypt, and the Great Chief of All Foreign Lands".

Udjahorresne apparently came to Egypt with Cambyses as part of his entourage. If we may hazard a guess, he was probably among those driven from Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar forty years earlier. If so, he is old, probably in his sixties, and, as we discover we when examine his tomb, he died not long after his statue was erected.

In this scenario it is likely that the largely mercenary army that arrived with Cambyses, augmented by Persian forces already resident in Egypt, advanced immediately to Upper Egypt, and then further south into Nubia. If these armed forces encountered opposition it was of little consequence. Whether Senkamenseken or Anlamani ruled in Napata we cannot say, but the likelihood is that only token resistance was rendered, and that Cambyses immediately claimed Nubia as a Persian province. Tribute was established and the machinery set up for its collection. Whether Cambyses advanced as far as Meroe, how Khnemibre came to power, and precisely the relationship between Khnemibre (Arikakaman) and Ankhkare (Anlamani), are all questions about which we can only speculate. But that both kings were required to send annual tribute to the south and thence to Persia, and that this tribute was continued through the reigns of Darius and Xerxes, has already been established by both Persian and classical evidence. And the Nile galleys used to transport this tribute were ultimately placed under the control of Udjahorresne.

Udjahorresne's entitlement as head of the kbnt boats under Ankhkare and Khnemibre was likely conferred only shortly before his stela was erected, during the early years of

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[272] Cf. p. 216, note 211

the reign of Darius, as were most of his other titles (since many of his religious benefices awaited the reestablishment of the temple rituals, a process barely underway in the few years of Cambyses sojourn in Egypt). The only task specifically assigned to Udjahorresne by Cambyses, in the years immediately following his arrival in Egypt, was that of "superintendent of schools".

Udjahorresne the Educator

Early in the reign of Cambyses, Udjahorresne was given the rank of “physician”. It was not uniquely a medical office. It seems to have had to do with “educating” the children of the nobility. In the inscription quoted earlier only the title appears. The job description follows later in the biography, following the death of Cambyses and the arrival of Darius. At that time, for reasons unknown, Udjahorresne was in Persia with Darius, but was sent back to Egypt:

> The Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Darius, may he live for ever, commanded me to return to Egypt, while His Majesty was in Elam when he was Great Chief of All Foreign Lands and Great Ruler of Egypt, in order to restore the House of Life ... *after the ruin*. As the Lord of the Two Lands had commanded, the foreigners brought me from land to land and caused me to reach Egypt. In accordance with that which His Majesty had commanded me did I act, having provided them with all their students who were the sons of men of quality, without there being children of people of low rank amongst them. Under the direction of every scholar did I place them ... all their works. His Majesty commanded that there be given to them every good thing in order that they might do all their works. With all their beneficial things did I equip them, and with all their requirements as indicated in the writings as it had been before. The reason why His Majesty did this was because he knew the usefulness of this craft for causing the sick to live and in order to cause to endure the names of all the gods, their temples, their offerings, and the conduct of their festivals forever. (lines 43-45)[273] (italics added)

From Elam Udjahorresne was sent back to Egypt, in his capacity as "physician" to set up a training school for potential temple (and political) appointees. There is no apparent reason for the prominence and urgency of this activity in the traditional historical context in which Udjahorresne's career is placed. Even the most exaggerated description of Cambyses eccentric behaviour did not suggest any mass killing of the priestly class that would explain the need to retrain a new generation of temple officiates. Only in the revised history does the desperate need for re-education seem perfectly in context. What is equally intriguing about the inscription just quoted is the almost innocuous reference to “the ruin” (*w’s*). It deserves a closer look.

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[273] Lloyd, op.cit., pp. 173-4.

The Destruction

What is the ruin to which Udjahorresne refers? In the traditional history it is necessarily an allusion to the calamitous results of the recent Persian invasion. But we have already stylized the arrival of Cambyses as that of a saviour, not a destroyer. His army was not in armed conflict with the Egyptians. The Persians were welcomed as deliverers, not despised as tyrants. The only other possible antecedent for *w's* is the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar. Some confirmation that this is the actual referent is provided elsewhere in the inscription where the same event is described in other words. Several lines earlier than the quoted passage Udjahorresne boasts: "I was a man good in his city, saving its people from the monstrous calamity (*nšn*) when it happened in the entire land, the like of which had not happened in this land" and in the same section he adds: "I did for them [the inhabitants of Sais] everything beneficial as a father would have done for his son, when the cataclysm (*nšn*) befell in this nome in the midst of the monstrous cataclysm [*nšn*] which happened in the entire land."(lines 39-42)[274]

Everyone admits that Udjahorresne is referring to "an all-embracing national catastrophe". What surprises most scholars is the hostile tone of the reference, it being accepted that the Persians wrought the catastrophe. How do we explain Udjahorresne welcoming the Persian rulers, participating in their coronations, inviting their assistance in establishing the cult centers, all the while publicizing the extent of the havoc they have wrought?

Perhaps sensing this incongruity the many interpreters of Udjahorresne rationalize. Recognizing that the extent of Persian destruction was not so great as that attributed to Cambyses by later generations, and that, therefore, Udjahorresne must be stretching the truth, they have strained to reinterpret the *nšn*. For Posener the destruction becomes merely a "political disruption"[275]; for Lloyd *nšn* refers to the "manifestation of daemonic and destructive power" unleashed by daemonic forces resulting from a foreign presence on the throne of Egypt.[276] But regardless of the nuance, it remains for all interpreters a

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[274] Ibid., p. 176.

[275] G. Posener, La Premiere Domination Perse, p. 19. note b and cf. p. 169. "Le sens premier du mot nšn est perturbation, orage. Applique a la situation des hommes, il ne signifie pas calamite, malheur, comme on l'a souvent traduit dans notre passage, mais trouble politique, desordre."

[276] Alan B. Lloyd, "The Inscription of Udjahorresnet - A Collaborator's Testament," JEA 68 (1982), p. 177, cf. note 34. According to Lloyd "The invasion is described as a nšn, a word whose meaning ranges through such concepts as 'rage', 'madness', and 'storm', but whose semantic core clearly lies in the notion of a manifestation of daemonic and destructive power. The word's indubitably Typhonic implications brand the Persian invasion as an eruption into Egypt of the chaotic forces which were believed to pose a constant threat to the preservation of the ordered universe, and which is was one of Pharaoh's prime tasks to keep in check." In the footnote he adds: "In the present instance, Udjahorresnet is doing nothing less than assimilating the experience of the Persian invasion

reference to the Persian invasion.

But that is clearly not what Udjahorresne is referring to. Let the reader decide if "a monstrous calamity which befell the entire land, the like of which had never happened before" can be a reference to the brief religious and political disruption which resulted from the arrival of the Persians in 525 B.C. Foreigners had arrived before. Pharaohs had died ignominiously in battle before. We need look back only 150 years to the time of the Assyrian occupation to see atrocities incomparably more severe than those credited to Cambyses by Herodotus. If we are to interpret *nšn* as a political and religious disruption, then we must admit that the disruption was of unprecedented proportions. This accords well with the view espoused by the current revision, which argues that there has just ended a forty year hiatus in the organized political and religious life of the nation, and that for at least half of that time there was no resident pharaoh in Egypt. We can understand completely Udjahorresne referring to such a circumstance as an unprecedented political and religious *nšn.*

But political and religious upheaval is not all that Udjahorresne is alluding to. He clearly speaks of physical devastation and extensive human suffering. We suggest that this is the nuance foremost in his mind. Three times already in this study we have encountered the term *nšn*; all three times it included extensive physical destruction as one of its components. In the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon it was employed to describe the physical and political chaos that prevailed in Egypt in the aftermath of the cosmic upheaval in the days of Takeloth II, following the day when "the sky did not swallow the moon". In the inscriptions of Mentuemhet and Petosiris it was used, as it is by Udjahorresne, to describe the calamitous results of Nebuchadrezzar's invasion. We do not deny the cosmic and political/religious aspects of the term. We argue only that the *nšn* has a physical dimension that must not be overlooked.

In the same breath in which he mentions the *nšn*, Udjahorresne recalls his heroic attempts to rescue his countrymen:

> I defended the weak against the powerful, saved the fearful when the mischance occurred, did everything possible for them (his countrymen) when it (the *nšn*) happened." (line 34).[277]

This is not Udjahorresne the admiral speaking of his naval defence of Egypt. This is Udjahorresne the citizen of Sais speaking of his actions as a young man when Sais and the balance of Egypt fell to the angry hordes of Babylon, and wrought destruction the likes of which had never been seen before. There is no incongruity in his speaking ill of Babylon in the same breath in which he speaks well of the Persians. Babylon & Persia were mortal enemies.

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[277] Translated from the French of Posener, op.cit., p.19.

It is clear from the inscription that Udjahorresne considers his actions worthy of praise. Twice he has fought on behalf of his country - once physically as a young man against the mercenary soldiers of Nebuchadrezzar's army; and once politically as an elder statesman in the employ of the Persian rulers of Egypt. As we will soon see his exploits became the subject of legends for later generations, who viewed him as a national hero and cult figure, the subject of veneration bordering on worship. Hardly the response accorded a traitor or a turncoat.

Udjahorresne's Tomb

The Discovery

Excavations at the southwest edge of the pyramid fields at Abusir conducted in 1988/89 by the Czechoslovak Instititute of Egyptology unearthed the tomb of Udjahorresne. In the words of Miroslav Verner, the director of the expedition, "the discovery of the large shaft tomb ... was as surprising as the identification of the tomb-owner."[278] The tomb contained the damaged remains of two sarcophagi.

> The lower portion of the burial chamber is completely filled by a rectangular, box-shaped and only summarily dressed outer sarcophagus of white limestone. A single horizontal line of a roughly cut hieroglyphic inscription running on all four sides of the sarcophagus contains religious formulas and the name and titulary of the tomb-owner. Inside the box-shaped sarcophagus lies another one that has an anthropoid form and is of basalt. The finely dressed surface of the inner sarcophagus is densely covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions containing, beside the religious formulas, the name and titles of the tomb-owner and his father and mother. VEA 162-3

The inclusion of the names of the parents of Udjahorresne left no doubt as to his identity.

The central pit containing the sarcophagus chamber, the tomb proper, was surrounded by a massive enclosure wall. In the 1993 excavations outside this wall there were discovered foundation deposits under the northwest, northeast, and southwest corners that included faience tablets inscribed with the cartouche names of Amasis. Both his prenomen (Khnemibre) and nomen ('Ahmose-sa-Neith) are included front and back on some tablets.[279]

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[278] Miroslav Verner et al., "Excavations at Abusir: Season 1988/1989 - Preliminary Report," ZAS 118 (1991) p. 166. Henceforth cited as VEA & page number.

[279] Ladislav Bareš, "Foundation Deposits in the Tomb of Udjahorresnet at Abusir," ZAS 123

There is no question that the wall was built by Amasis, or minimally, that its construction began in the reign of that king.

This association of the names of Amasis and Udjahorresne appears initially to settle the question regarding Amasis' placement in history, and to nullify all previous arguments to the contrary. Otherwise, on the assumption that the current revision is valid, how can we account for the tablets of a late 5th century king (449-405 B.C.) appearing in foundation deposits of an enclosure wall surrounding the tomb of a man who died in the last decades of the 6th century B.C. (c.a. 514 B.C.)?[280]

The answer is transparent, and once presented serves to explain many anomalies in the Czechoslovakian excavations, for even before the foundation deposits were found, Verner had remarked on the fact that the excavation of this tomb had "raised more questions than it answered." (VEA 167) The number of questions only multiplied with the excavation of the Amasis tablets.

Primary Burial, Secondary Burial or Cenotaph

The first problem concerned the contents of the inner sarcophagus, or rather, the lack of contents:

> Unfortunately, the tomb-robbers damaged both sarcophagi. Through the massive lid (510x290x110 cm.) of the outer sarcophagus a hole was cut. The inner and much harder basalt sarcophagus was first "softened" by means of fire and then the feet of its lid were broken into pieces. Yet, the hole cut by the tomb-robbers into the interior of the anthropoid sarcophagus is very small (28x40 cm.) and it is therefore very improbable that a mummy could have been taken out without being completely destroyed. Moreover, neither in the empty sarcophagus nor around it were any fragments of mummy wrappings or skeletal remains found. These and still other archaeological observations seem to indicate that the inner sarcophagus never contained a burial. This surprising find contrasts with the intact triple sealing around the undamaged major portion of the inner sarcophagus: Three thin horizontal layers of pink gypsum were spread on the limestone chips pressed between the basalt sarcophagus and the inner walls of the limestone sarcophagus. Also, the find of the empty sarcophagus seems to be supported by the absence of canopic jars, which were

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(1996) p. 8 n.37. Henceforth cited as BFD & page number.

[280] The date of death of Udjahorresne is determined from the statue inscription of a dignitary who lived shortly before the arrival of Alexander the Great in Egypt in 332 B.C. The inscription (see note 37 below) mentions the death of Udjahorresne 177 years earlier. The latest date of death possible is therefore 509 B.C. (332 + 177). Depending on the date given the stela inscription, scholars typically date Udjahorresne's death some time between 517 B.C. and 514 B.C.

> found neither in the narrow niches in the south, west and north wall of the burial chamber nor in any other place uncovered so far in the underground of the tomb. VEA 164-6

Already at the end of the first season in the tomb, Verner was speculating on the possibility that the existing sarcophagi were later replacements of an original burial looted by thieves, or alternatively, that the site was merely a cenotaph commemorating the life of Udjahorresne:

> In spite of the find of the double sarcophagus in the burial chamber, it was not yet proved that Udjahorresne was really buried in the tomb. Does it mean that somebody replaced still in ancient times his burial damaged apparently very early by the robbers? Or does the tomb at Abusir represent Udjahorresnet's cenotaph? A definite answer can only be found in further excavation of the shaft tomb. VEA 167

Verner preferred the cenotaph theory, and persisted in that belief in spite of the later discovery of the Amasis tablets which, in the context of the traditional history, made that theory less likely. A second Egyptologist on the excavation team, Ladislav Bareš, argued instead that the mummy was indeed removed through the tiny opening in the sarcophagus cover and that the burial must be original. But even this theory had its drawbacks. This time the anomalies related to the inscriptions.

Tomb Inscriptions

Among the inscriptions on the walls of the tomb and the sides of the inner sarcophagus were several in which Udjahorresne cites his titulary. Here, as in his statue inscription, he boasts that he is "the chief physician of Upper and Lower Egypt" and "the overseer of the royal navy." (VEA 166) Both of these titles were problematic for the excavators. For Bareš the reference to Udjahorresne as "chief physician" was particularly disconcerting. He comments:

> Till now there is not a single hint to the possibility that Udjahorresnet may have obtained this title sooner, i.e. during Dyn. 26. It may be noted that even the military and administrative titles which Udjahorresnet has certainly held only in the time of Dyn. 26 and not later appear several times on the walls of the sarcophagus chamber and on the inner sarcophagus. Contrary to the inscription on Udjahorresnet's statue, however, they are not accompanied here by any mention pertaining to the period of their use. BFD 8 n.37

The concern of Bareš can be understood as part of his attempt to trace the probable sequence of events that led to Udjahorresne's interment. To comprehend the problem we must understand that tombs like Udjahorresne's are not particularly complicated

constructions and were normally completed in a year or two at best. Tomb construction and the preparation of the sarcophagi would be completed and the tomb sealed within that time, all in anticipation of death. The enclosure wall would be constructed last. Some opening into the tomb would necessarily be left in order to inter the mummified body after death. In the case of Udjahorresne's tomb a vertical shaft 2 1/2 m. square and 17 m deep had been dug immediately outside the eastern section of the enclosure wall. At the bottom the shaft turned a right angle and ran horizontally under the wall and into the tomb.

The tomb construction followed the usual plan, but according to the inscriptions the typical construction time line could not have been followed. Herein lay the problem for Bareš.

In the first place the foundation deposits clearly argued that the wall construction began under Amasis and therefore, in all probability, should have been completed during the time of the 26th dynasty. Additionally, the walls of the sarcophagus chamber and the inner sarcophagus were covered by titles that Udjahorresne held only in the time of the 26th dynasty, at least according to the chronology adopted by the traditional history. Udjahorresne's naval command is cited as a case in point. In this instance the Egyptologists agreed that Udjahorresne was referring to a naval command he held at the time of writing, obviating the need to include the name of Khnemibre (Amasis). All things considered, for Bareš there was no doubt that the tomb construction and sarcophagus inscriptions began together in the last years of Amasis' reign, approximately 527/6 B.C.

> The wall that surrounded the tomb was apparently built in the time of Amasis. In the deposits, only the names of Amasis appear. Usually the foundation deposits have been laid during the foundation ceremonies, i.e. before the building activities began. We may thus admit that the building of Udjahorresnet's tomb started sometime under Amasis. BFD 7

But admitting that the tomb construction began under Amasis is not sufficient. It should also have been completed under Amasis. After all, the enclosure walls were typically the final step in the construction process. Yet the tomb could not have been finished within the reign of Amasis. The title "chief physician", inscribed on the tomb walls and sarcophagus was obtained at the earliest under Cambyses, and Bareš, noting the problem, admits that "a slight discrepancy does, therefore, appear between the possible dating of the foundation deposits and the inscribed pieces from inside the tomb."(BFD 8) If the tomb was finished and sealed under Amasis, the sarcophagus was apparently not left in the tomb awaiting the death of Udjahorresne. The title of chief physician clearly indicated that the inner sarcophagus was not completed till later in Udjahorresne's career. What to do?

Bareš quickly reviewed the only two possible solutions. He first suggested the possibility that the tomb was completed on schedule, under Amasis, and that the

sarcophagus was inserted later, being moved through the vertical and horizontal shafts. The idea was quickly rejected. The title "chief physician" was also inscribed on the tomb walls, and moving the massive sarcophagus through the vertical and horizontal shafts was out of the question. Bareš appropriately concluded: "such a possibility is hardly conceivable and in fact nothing speaks in favour of it" (BFD 8)

The only possible alternative was to assume that the tomb and sarcophagus constructions were begun in Amasis reign, then left incomplete for a dozen years, only to be completed at the death of Udjahorresne around 514 B.C.

> We may suppose, therefore, that Udjahorresnet started to build his tomb and, perhaps, also prepare his anthropoid inner sarcophagus in the last years of Amasis. Very probably, any work on either the tomb itself or the inner sarcophagus had to be stopped in the early years of the Persian dominion and was resumed only later. Perhaps due to the death of Udjahorresne, all works in his tomb were interrupted shortly before finishing it. (BFD 8)

This scenario, of course, is possible. But how likely? Udjahorresne was able to undertake extensive repairs and restoration to the temples of Sais in the days of Cambyses. Why was he unable to complete his tomb? The unfinished tomb also raises the question of the purpose of the shaft entrance outside the eastern enclosure wall. If the tomb were to remain open until the time of Udjahorresne's death there would be no need for such an entrance. Perhaps anticipating this criticism Bareš notes that "the eastern portion of the enclosure wall seems to have been finished first, while the western portion of this wall has remained open to enable further building works inside the tomb." (BFD 8 n.35)

The matter must be left there, with Verner and Bareš arguing their respective points of view. The debate is pointless. The confusion is caused by a faulty Egyptian chronology for the Saite dynasty, which mistakenly believes that Amasis predeceased Udjahorresne by a dozen years. With Amasis properly positioned at the end of the 5th century, the problem of the tomb inscriptions and the empty sarcophagus disappear. The matter will be discussed momentarily. But first a few remarks concerning several questions not raised by the excavators.

The first question concerns the enclosure wall constructed by Amasis. It is highly unusual, to say the least, to find an Egyptian king participating in the tomb construction of a subordinate. Why did Amasis build the wall? Even if we accept that Udjahorresne was a naval commander, which we definitely do not, his office was not sufficiently important to warrant this special attention. A family connection would explain the involvement of Amasis, but should be ruled out entirely by the absence of the king’s name in the tomb inscriptions. If he were related to Amasis, why does Udjahorresne not mention the fact at every available opportunity? But neither on his statue, nor on the walls of his tomb, nor on his sarcophagus, is there any hint of a genealogical connection with the royal family.

Additional and related questions can also be directed toward the inscriptions of Udjahorresne. Assuming that Udjahorresne was merely a particular favorite of Amasis, and that on that account alone Amasis constructed an enclosure wall for Udjahorresne's tomb, we ask why Udjahorresne acknowledges no debt of gratitude in his tomb inscription? Why is Amasis not mentioned in Udjahorresne's tomb? The absence of his name demands an explanation. Udjahorresne repeats his title "overseer of the royal navy" from the statue inscription but this time fails to even acknowledge Khnemibre as the king. Why? Here was the perfect opportunity to boast of his favoured status with royalty. But Udhahorresne is silent.

In the revised history these question are easily answered. Udjahorresne did not mention Amasis because he had never heard of Amasis, whose birth followed Udjahorresne's death by forty years. He expressed no gratitude for Amasis constructing the enclosure walls of his tomb because those enclosure walls were built over sixty years after his death. The name of Khnemibre used on the statue of Udjahorresne was omitted in the tomb inscription because the name was not particularly important to Udjahorresne. As we have just determined, Khnemibre was a subordinate of Udjahorresne, a foreign king whose tribute he was commissioned to collect.

There is only one scenario that adequately explains the empty sarcophagus and the anomalies in the inscriptions. We return to Verner's secondary burial and cenotaph theories. In the traditional history, with Udjahorresne following Amasis, Bareš could argue against Verner for a primary burial. In the revised history, with Amasis following Udjahorresne by half a century, the secondary burial and cenotaph theories are not only probable, but necessary.

Udjahorresne the Cult Hero

We have observed already from Udjahorresne's statue inscription that he appeared there as a hero, not as a villain. When Verner argued his secondary burial and cenotaph hypotheses he was not basing his assumption alone on the empty inner sarcophagus. Adjacent to the enclosure wall the excavators found artifacts, including at least one burial, all dated later than the time of Udjahorresne, which suggested that the tomb site had become in antiquity a place for the worship or veneration of Udjahorresne. Even Bareš acknowledges that …

> People burying their dead near to the tomb of Udjahorresnet certainly had to have some special motive to use this place, rather remote in comparison with the surroundings of Dyn. 5 pyramids or Old Kingdom tombs covering the desert slopes between Abusir and North Saqqara. A tiny part of a wooden anthropoid coffin was unearthed in 1990 on the bottom of an otherwise empty grave pit to the east of Udjahorresnet's enclosure wall. Another burial pit, in which only remnants of three thick ropes of twisted papyrus were found lying

> across the bottom, has been revealed this season near to the mouth of a small shaft in front of the east enclosure wall. All these burials seem to prove the assumption that Udjahorresnet was in some form venerated among the local inhabitants. (BFD 7)

The existence of a funerary cult for Udjahorresne also has support far afield from his Abusir tomb. Reviewing the evidence Bareš notes that..

> the famous statue of Udjahorresnet, now kept in the Vatican, was certainly intended to have been exhibited in a temple area. The same can perhaps be said about another (in fact, much later) statue of this dignitary found at Mitrahina and showing that the cult of Udjahorresnet was in some form living even 177 years after his death, i.e. shortly before the arrival of Alexander the Great into Egypt or, perhaps, as late as in the first years of the Greek supremacy over Egypt. Another fragment with Udjahorresnet's name, said to have been found in the Memphite region as well, comes very probably from another statue exhibited also in a temple. The funerary cult of Udjahorresnet seems, therefore, to have been attested in both Sais and Memphis, perhaps the most important religious centres in Egypt during his life.[281]

This peripheral evidence at minimum supports Verner's argument that the Udjahorresne tomb may have been a cenotaph or a secondary burial site. If the latter it may well have evolved into a funerary cult. The enclosure wall possibly served to support a platform that contained a funerary chapel. The remains at the site are insufficient to prove the fact, and knowledge of shaft tombs such as Udjahorresne's is deficient; but the possibility remains.[282] Some such theory is necessary to explain the anomalies at the site, and particularly the enclosure wall constructed by Amasis.

On the assumption that Verner is correct and that Udjahorresne's tomb is either a secondary burial or a cenotaph we can proceed to account for the evidence. Udjahorresne died about 514 B.C. On the secondary burial hypothesis, we assume he was buried elsewhere, perhaps in Sais, perhaps Memphis. The original burial was disturbed; the mummy destroyed. A replacement sarcophagus was constructed and deposited in the shaft tomb at Abusir in the process of being constructed for

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[281] Bareš, "Foundation Deposits," p. 6. For details on the Mit Rahina statue see Rudolf Anthes, *Mit Rahineh* (1955) pp.98-100 and pls. 36a,b; 37a-c.

[282] Bareš seems to rule out the possibility of a chapel above or even near the tomb, but admits that one might have existed some distance away. "The question of a potential existence of the funerary cult of Udjahorresnet in this monument, so closely related to the problem whether or not has Udjahorresnet been buried here has thus remained unsolved. No traces of any cult installations have been unearthed in the close vicinity of the tomb. In view of the fact that no entrance had perhaps existed in the enclosure wall, the possibility of a chapel being built above the mouth of the central shaft seems to be also excluded." Ibid., p. 5. But we note the hesitancy in his statement "no entrance had perhaps existed".

Udjahorresne by Amasis. This tomb was later violated by thieves who cut a hole in the inner sarcophagus sufficient to determine that it contained no mummy and no treasure. The thieves left empty handed.

The cenotaph hypothesis would be similar save for the original burial. Udjahorresne perhaps died on a journey abroad, possibly in Elam or in Babylon to which we have already conjectured he had been deported in 564 B.C. by Nebuchadrezzar and where some of his family possibly still resided. Having acquired the status of cult hero through his exploits under Nebuchadrezzar, Cambyses and Darius, a tomb cenotaph was created by Amasis, only shortly after the beginning of his reign in 449 B.C.

We repeat the claim without laboriously reviewing the evidence that every anomaly discussed by the excavators disappears entirely with Amasis rightly positioned following the death of Udjahorresne Only one query lingers, namely, the one raised independently above. What prompted Amasis to establish a funerary cult or cult worship center for Udjahorresne? If Udjahorresne was not Amasis' naval commander then what relationship actually held between the king and the "chief physician" that would lead Amasis to construct the Abusir shaft tomb? We return to our hypothesis that Amasis and Udjahorresne were related. That assumption was immediately ruled out earlier on the basis of the traditional history. Udjahorresne, following Amasis in time, would have mentioned his relationship with the king. But in the revised history no such problem exists. If Amasis was a descendant of Udjahorresne, then the latter's ignorance of a genealogical connection with royalty is understandable.

We argue therefore that Udjahorresne was an ancestor of Amasis, that they were in fact close relatives. Specifically, we argue that Udjahorresne was the patriarch of Amasis' family. He was not Amasis' naval commander; he was his great-grandfather. If so it is not at all surprising that Amasis would single out his great-grandfather, the defender of Egypt against Nebuchadrezzar and the hero of the Persian liberation, as an object for national veneration, even sixty years after his death. And we are not guessing.

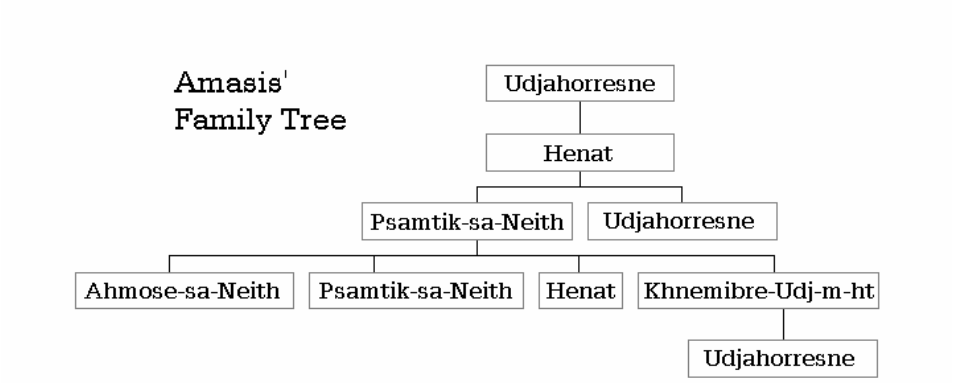
Henat Family Tree

Numerous articles have been written discussing and debating the family relationships of the Saite dynasty kings. It is known that Amasis was an interloper, not the son of Apries who preceded him. The names of several of his wives are known. His mother's name is known as well. The claim is made that we do not know his father.[283] But in fact the genealogy of Amasis is described in great detail in several influential Egyptological journals dating back to the mid-twentieth century. It is generally referred to as the Henat family tree, but would more appropriately be called the Udjahorresne or Amasis

[283] H. De Meulenaere, "La Famille Du Roi Amasis," JEA 54 (1968), p.183. "Il est regrettable au'aucun document ne nous ait revele jusqu'a present le nom du pere d'Amasis."

genealogy in view of the greater notoriety of these two dignitaries. We reproduce the genealogy in figure 27 precisely as depicted in articles by Anthes[284] and Jelinkova[285], omitting several questionable secondary connections.

Figure 30: Amasis' Family Tree (the Henat Genealogy)



We note the prominence of the name of Udjahorresne in this family. We also note that the parents of the patriarch are not known. But he is almost certainly the owner of the statue and the tomb. There is no mistaking Ahmose-sa-Neith (Amasis). His brothers Psamtik-sa-Neith and Khnemibre will be discussed in chapter 10 when we examine this genealogy more fully. We are not discouraged when Egyptologists claim that that the Ahmose-sa-Neith named therein is not Amasis. The source documents will not only demonstrate the reasonableness of our claim, they will furnish further proof that Amasis lived in the latter half of the 5th century, years after, not prior to, the reign of Darius I.

It is time to set matters straight regarding Udjahorresne. He was not Amasis' naval commander; he was his great-grandfather and he died probably forty years before Amasis was born. Udjahorresne was not a traitor collaborating with Persian victors; he was a liberator, returning triumphantly with the entourage of Cambyses after four decades in captivity. He cannot be claimed as proof positive that the Saite dynasty ended in 525 B.C.; rather, his statue and tomb together argue persuasively that the great disruption caused by Nebuchadrezzar was at that time just ending and the Saite dynasty was barely beginning.

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[284] Rudolf Anthes, "Das Berliner Henat-Relief," ZAS 75 (1939) pp.21-31

[285] E. Jelinkova, "Un Titre Saite Emprunte a l'Ancien Empire," ASAE 55 (1958) pp. 79-125, see chart p. 99

Though our argument proceeds, in truth the argument is over. The two pillars supporting the Saite dynasty in its wrongful place have turned out to be illusions. Taharka did not die in 664 B.C. ending the 25th dynasty and passing the reigns of government to Psamtik I. Takeloth III died that year and was succeeded by his nephew Rudamon who, if anything, was a patriarch of the emerging 25th dynasty. Amasis did not die in 526 B.C. yielding power to Psamtik III and thence to the Persians. The Saite dynasty was then in its infancy; the great-grandfather of Amasis was just arriving in the newly liberated province of Persia.

It is strange how dynasties displaced by 121 years can turn history on its heels.

Chapter 8: Necao & the Persian Wars

Necao Wahemibre & Darius I

Darius I (522-486 B.C.)

From the death of Udjahorresne around 514 B.C., in the 8th year of Darius I, until a few years before the end of Darius' reign in 486 B.C., there is an almost total absence of historical information forthcoming from Egypt. In the last decade of his reign strained relations between Persia and Greece led to a military confrontation that climaxed in 490 B.C. when Darius launched, under command of his nephew, a failed attempt to conquer Greece. The aborted battle at Marathon only increased his desire for conquest. The war was not over, only delayed.

> Meanwhile, preparations for the Greek war proceeded apace. As Darius saw it, Marathon was only a temporary setback to a hitherto successful policy of steady frontier advance. All that was needed, he thought, was a larger army under proper direction, and then, when the surviving city-states had been crushed, the whole Greek world would be incorporated within the ever-expanding Persian Empire.[286]

Darius proceeded to intensify his war effort, conscripting troops and replenishing military supplies to provision the anticipated expedition. These oppressive actions and the bleak prospect of further foreign wars led to a rebellion in Egypt. According to Herodotus the revolt took place in the fourth year after Marathon, around 487 B.C.[287]

> King Darius, son of Hystaspes, had been greatly incensed against the Athenians because of their raid on Sardis, but when news reached him of the battle fought at Marathon, his wrath was still more kindled, and he pressed on all the more with preparations for war against Greece. He lost no time in sending messengers to every city calling for the raising of an army, requiring of each a far greater number of men than ever before, and ships of war, food, horses, and transports besides. This levy kept Asia in travail for three years, the best men being taken up with the war on Greece or preparations for it. And in the fourth year the Egyptians, brought into subjection by Cambyses, revolted against the Persians. Thereafter even greater preparations were made for war on both countries. Her.7.1

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[286] A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (1948), p. 226.

[287] The rebellion proper, i.e. open hostilities, began with a siege of the fortress of Migdol. This took place slightly over 3 years after Marathon, thus late in 487 B.C. since Marathon is usually dated to August or September of 490 B.C. Darius died roughly a year later, in November 486 B.C. For this information we are largely dependent on Herodotus.

Darius' death in November 486 B.C. interrupted his plans to quash the rebellion. The lot fell instead to Xerxes, Darius' son and successor, who in due course invaded Egypt. Details of the Egyptian revolt and of its suppression by Xerxes are lacking in all sources. We know only that for over two years (487-484 B.C.) Egypt was in control of local authorities. It was a time of national rejoicing, remembered and celebrated for decades. But the revolt ultimately failed.

> Egypt had been recovered by January 9, 484. Quarrying at the Hammamat gorge by the returned Atiyawahy and by Ariurta proves a certain amount of building at the royal command. But the property of numerous temples was confiscated and the treatment of the natives made harsher. Apparently Pherendates had perished in the revolt, for Xerxes placed Egypt under the rule of his brother Achaemenes as satrap.[288]

The Revised History: (522-486 B.C.)

In the revised chronology Psamtik I ruled over the Persian province of Egypt from 543-489 B.C. The latter half of his tenure thus overlapped most of the reign of Darius I. From the death of Udjahorresne around 514 B.C., in Psamtik's 30th year, until Psamtik's death in 489 B.C. (only three years before the death of Darius I) there is an almost total absence of historical information forthcoming from Egypt. This is not surprising. Psamtik was a pharaoh in name only; in truth he was nothing more than a Persian bureaucrat. Besides, he was old. We have argued that Psamtik was born some time before 564/563 B.C. when his father Necao I died during the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar. He must have been a young man in his late twenties or early thirties when installed in office by Cyrus in 543 B.C. He died in his 55th regnal year after 54 years regulating Egyptian affairs on behalf of three Persian kings. He must have been well over eighty years old at death. His son Wahemibre Necao ruled after him from 489-474 B.C. The rebellion against Darius (487-484 B.C.) must have occurred early in Necao's reign.[289]

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[288] Olmstead, op.cit., p. 235.

[289] Petrie attributed this "brief insurrection" to Khababasha (*History of Egypt* III, p. 369) Yoyotte at one time believed the rebel leader was a king Pedubast III but has since changed his mind ("Petoubastis III" RdE 24 (1972) p. 216 cf. n.4). E. Cruz-Uribe ("On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," Serapis 5 (1980) 35-9) and P.W. Pestman ("The Diospolis Parva Documents, Chronological Problems concerning Psammeticus III & IV," in J. Thissens/Th. Zauzich eds. Grammata Demotika: Festschrift fur Erich Luddeckens zum 15 Juni 1983) have recently argued that a hitherto unknown Psamtik IV led the rebellion. All three of these kings did in fact rule parts of Egypt approximately twenty years after the end of the reign of Darius I. The matter is considered in chapter 9.

What evidence is there that Necao Wahemibre and Darius I were contemporaries and that Necao led a rebellion against Darius only a few years after his father's death? The answer will occupy this entire chapter. Ironically, much of the source material comes from Herodotus.

Canal Construction & Circumnavigation

Nile/Red Sea Canal

According to Herodotus in his chapter two Saite history:

> Psammetichus had a son Necos, who became king of Egypt. It was he who began the making of the canal into the Red Sea, which was *finished by Darius the Persian*. This is four days' voyage in length, and it was dug wide enough for two triremes to move in it rowed abreast. It is fed by the Nile, and is carried from a little above Bubastis by the Arabian town of Patumus; it issues into the Red Sea. The beginning of the digging was in the part of the Egyptian plain which is nearest to Arabia; the mountains that extend to Memphis (in which mountains are the stone quarries) come close to this plain; the canal is led along the lower slope of these mountains in a long reach from west to east; passing then into a ravine it bears southward out of the hill country towards the Arabian Gulf. Now the shortest and most direct passage from the northern to the southern or Red Sea is from the Casian promontory, which is the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Arabian Gulf, and this is a distance of one thousand furlongs, neither more nor less; this is the most direct way, but the canal is much longer, inasmuch as it is more crooked. In Necos' reign a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished in the digging of it. During the course of excavations, Necos ceased from the work, being stayed by a prophetic utterance that *he was toiling beforehand for the barbarian*. The Egyptians call all men of other languages barbarians. *Necos then ceased from making the canal and engaged rather in warlike preparation*; some of his ships of war were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast: the landing -engines of these are still to be seen. He used these ships at need, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus, taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis after the battle. He sent to Branchidae of Miletus and dedicated there to Apollo the garments in which he won these victories. Presently he died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis reigned in his stead. Her. 2.158-9 (italics added)

It is intriguing that the names of Necao and Darius are linked together in connection with this monumental historical achievement, a water link between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea for which both the initiative and the lion's share of the work appear to be credited to Wahemibre Necao. The fact that over a hundred thousand lives were lost,

notwithstanding the probable hyperbole, suggests it was a lengthy and labour intensive effort. There can be little doubt that the construction was all but finished when abandoned by Necao. It is surprising therefore that this mammoth undertaking, so potentially advantageous for the Egyptian economy, and so near to completion, was ignored for 100 years till work resumed and the canal was completed under Darius I - this on the assumption that Necao ruled Egypt from 610-595 B.C., a century before Darius. This criticism is particularly incisive considering the explosion of commercial activity that took place in the lengthy and prosperous reign of Amasis. Why did Amasis not finish the canal? And who are the "barbarians" on account of whom Necao was loathe to complete this water bridge between the Nile and the Red Sea?

That a canal joining the Nile (and thus the Mediterranean) with the Red Sea, via the wadi Tumilat, was in fact completed under Darius I, is not in doubt. Excavations by the French in the late 19th century uncovered the outlines of the canal and, more importantly, the huge stelae erected by Darius to commemorate its construction.[290] The original waterway was a hundred and fifty feet wide and deep enough for the passage of sea going vessels. It could be traversed in four days.

Concerning the stelae, Olmstead remarks:

> Five huge red-granite stelae to commemorate the vast project greeted the eyes of the traveller at intervals along the banks. On one side the twice-repeated Darius holds within an Egyptian cartouche his cuneiform name under the protection of the Ahuramazda symbol. In the three cuneiform languages he declares: "I am a Persian. From Parsa I seized Egypt. I commanded this canal to be dug from the river, Nile by name, which flows in Egypt, to the sea which goes from Parsa. Afterward this canal was dug as I commanded, and ships passed from Egypt through this canal to Parsa as was my will." On the reverse is the fuller Egyptian version. Under the Egyptian sun disk, ultimately the original of the Ahuramazda symbol depicted on the front, stand the two Niles in the traditional ritual of "binding the two lands." One tells Darius: "I have given you all the lands, all the Fenkhu (Phoenicians), all the foreign lands, all the bows"; the other "I have given you all mankind, all the men, all the peoples of the isles of the seas."[291]

On the stelae Darius calls himself "king of kings, son of Hystaspes, great king"; but he also assumes Egyptian titles, including "born of Neith, mistress of Sais," the patron deity of the Egyptian capital during the Saite dynasty. What, if anything, should we read into this association of the Persian and Saite dynasties?

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[290] The earliest and best publication of these stelae, with photographs, transcription and translation is provided by G. Posener, *La Premiere Domination Perse En Egypte* (1936) p. 48-87.

[291] Alan B. Lloyd, "Necho and the Red Sea: Some Considerations," JEA 63 (1977) p. 149. The arguments pro and con are presented on pages 149-154.

Nowhere in the vicinity of Darius' canal is there evidence of the waterway constructed by Necao a century earlier, this in spite of the fact that the location fits the geographical details of Necao's canal as provided by Herodotus. Therefore scholars assume - though entirely without evidence - that Darius has merely cleared out the sand filled remains of Necao's earlier canal and claimed the result as his own achievement.

But the questions raised earlier remain. Why did Necao's canal remain all but completed for a hundred years? And how is it that the completion of this Egyptian canal could work to the benefit of an unnamed barbarian, so much so that in spite of the enormous loss of life and expenditure of time already incurred, Necao abruptly abandoned the undertaking? And why, in the immediate aftermath of this interruption in his canal building operation, did Necao prepare for war? These questions deserve an answer.

The reader can anticipate our response to the first of these questions. In the revised history Darius and Necao are contemporaries. There were not two canals built in the same location a century apart. There was a single canal, the construction of which was ordered by Darius I in anticipation of his wars with Greece, and which construction became the responsibility of Necao, son of the aging Psamtik I. This assumes, of course, that even before he became king in 489 B.C., Necao had taken over many of the official functions of his father. The canal construction, probably begun several years before Marathon, continued through the death of Psamtik I and into the second year of Necao (488 B.C.). Then it abruptly stopped. Necao, reflecting the national sentiment, determined to free the country from the destructive policies of Darius and the Persians. And therein lies the answer to the other two questions. The cessation of work on the canal was the beginning of a rebellion against Persia.

According to Herodotus Necao ceased construction on the canal for fear that "he was toiling beforehand for the barbarian". There is not ambiguity in Herodotus' use of the term "barbarian". By this term he refers to foreigners unfamiliar with the Egyptian language. Many times in his *Histories* he uses the identical word in reference to the Persians. And in the revised history, with Necao Wahemibre assuming the Egyptian throne at the precise moment when Darius I is mobilizing his empire to fight with Greece, there can be no doubt that Darius is the "barbarian". The revised historical context settles the question.

The canal was constructed by order of Darius, whose vested interest in such a venture is undeniable. His war with Greece required naval vessels for the anticipated battle and ready access to provisions for the troops. Egypt was a major supplier of both. But part of the Persian navy and many of the potential sources of supply lay south and east of Egypt. A water bridge to the Red Sea was essential. It would give immediate access to supplies from Persian provinces bordering on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. It would facilitate the movement of ships constructed and troops conscripted elsewhere in the southern regions of the Persian Empire. And it would provide a faster and less physically demanding route to the Persian homeland.

Necao recognized that the completion of the canal would only intensify the suffering of the Egyptians. Already, if Herodotus can be believed, a hundred thousand lives had been sacrificed in this Persian cause. Additional life had been lost in the battle at Marathon and more deaths appeared inevitable as Darius pursued his ambition to annex Greece. To complete the canal would further a war effort which could only result in innumerable casualties, and all this for a "barbarian" whose repressive taxation and conscription was becoming intolerable.

When work on the canal stopped Necao was in effect declaring Egyptian independence. Retaliation from the Persians could be expected soon. Egypt had to ready itself for war. It is no surprise therefore that a work stoppage led immediately to a war effort. Herodotus captures the connection precisely. "Necos then ceased from making the canal and engaged rather in warlike preparation" The anticipated reaction from Persia would come from land and sea.

A single problem in the comments by Herodotus requires explanation. According to him Necao left the canal incomplete. And in our interpretation of the probable sequence of events Necao's act of defiance led within a year to a full-blown rebellion. Darius died before the rebellion could be quashed. There is no room in this historical construct for Darius to complete the canal. Yet Herodotus says specifically that "the canal was finished by Darius the Persian." And Darius himself, on the memorial stelae erected at strategic points along the canal, declared: "Afterward this canal was dug as I commanded and ships passed from Egypt, through this canal to Parsua as was my will." How do we explain the apparent discrepancy?

In spite of apparent statements to the contrary by Herodotus and Darius we maintain the claim that the canal was left incomplete until some indeterminate time after the Egyptian rebellion, precisely when we cannot say. The canal stelae were likely inscribed before the anticipated completion of the canal, being erected at each successive stage as construction was completed. And Herodotus is here either mistaken or misinterpreted. He is apparently heir to two traditions - one that claimed that Necao built the canal but stopped short of completion, and another, lacking this qualification, which claimed that Darius built the canal. The second tradition is technically true. It is the back-to-back juxtaposition of the two traditions which gives rise to the impression that Darius completed the unfinished work of Necao. Herodotus does not actually say that Darius "finished" the work of Necao. That is the translator’s interpretation.

The claim that Herodotus is misrepresented is not without support. Other classical scholars preserve traditions of Darius' canal construction. Aristotle (Mete. I. 14 (352b)), Diodorus Siculus (I.33.9ff.), Strabo (17.1.25 (C804)) and Pliny (HN 6.165 ff.) all insist that the canal was left unfinished by Darius.[292] The matter must be left at that.

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[292] The classical references are taken from Lloyd, op.cit., p. 143 n. 8. I did not check the Pliny and Aristotle citations. Lloyd also notes that the canal was reopened by Trajan, but if not completed by

We will discuss Necao's rebellion in more detail later. While we are on the subject of his canal construction we should pause briefly to comment on a second notable pioneering effort credited to him by Herodotus, the first circumnavigation of the African continent.

Circumnavigation of Africa

Later in chapter four Herodotus again mentions the canal, this time in the context of a naval expedition, the first documented circumnavigation of the African continent.

> It is certain that Libya is surrounded by sea, except where it is joined to Asia, and the first to demonstrate this, so far as we know, was the Egyptian king Necos. For, when he abandoned the digging of the canal from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, he dispatched certain Phoenicians on a voyage, and bade them sail so as to come home between the Pillars of Heracles to the sea on the north side of Libya and thus back to Egypt. The Phoenicians set out from the Red Sea and sailed the southern sea; as often as autumn came they went ashore and sowed the land in whatever part of Libya they had reached in their voyage and waited for the harvest; when they had gathered the crop, they sailed on. Thus two years passed, and in the third year they turned through the Pillars of Heracles and reached Egypt. They said what to me is unbelievable, though some may believe it; that as they sailed around Libya they had the sun on their right hand. Her. 4.42

Necao's Suez-canal prototype might, in and of itself, be considered the achievement of a lifetime. To follow it up with an east-west 15,000-mile journey from the Red Sea to the Nile delta around the tip of the African continent, appears to solidify Necao's reputation as a visionary and an achiever. So seemingly legendary are these exploits, in fact, that the credibility of Herodotus has been called into question, at least in the case of the circumnavigation. According to the Egyptologist Alan Lloyd "this remarkable narrative has excited, and will continue to excite, considerable discussion, some championing its historicity, others refusing to accept it."[293] Lloyd, for one, believes Herodotus to be mistaken, believing the incident to be totally out of character for an Egyptian pharaoh in this time period. According to him "it is extremely unlikely that an Egyptian king would, or could, have acted as Necho is depicted as doing ... all the more unlikely since the Saites were distinctly prone to following well-worn paths." He goes on to say that

> If an Egyptian king, at any period, organized and dispatched an expedition, he did so for specific practical ends to meet specific practical needs. Disinterested

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Darius then either it was completed in the interim and reopened by Trajan, or Trajan completed the unfinished work of Darius II & Necao.

[293] Lloyd, op.cit., p. 149.

> inquiry or plain curiosity were always amongst the least evident of Egyptian habits of mind. What possible end could an Egyptian king have thought an enterprise of this sort might have served? To anyone familiar with Pharaonic ways of doing things the reply immediately prompted is an emphatic 'None at all!'. Given the context of Egyptian thought, economic life, and military interests, it is impossible for one to imagine what stimulus could have motivated Necho in such a scheme and if we cannot provide a reason which is sound within Egyptian terms of reference, then we have good reason to doubt the historicity of the entire episode.[294]

Lloyd's remarks might be justifiable in the context of the traditional history where there exists no discernible reason for this naval activity. But in the revised history it is not at all "impossible for one to imagine what stimulus could have motivated Necho in such a scheme."

In the first place we argue that Necao was here motivated by the identical cause that prompted his canal construction. He dispatched the expedition in search of an alternate route to the Mediterranean because he was ordered to do so. The initiative belonged to Darius, not Necao. The proof comes from Strabo who, writing centuries after Herodotus, not only credits Darius I with the idea, but also claims that this knowledge was derived circuitously from Herodotus:

> In giving the names of those who are said to have circumnavigated Libya Poseidonius says that Herodotus believes that certain men commissioned by Darius accomplished the circumnavigation of Libya; and adds that Heracleides of Pontus in one of his Dialogues makes a certain Magus who had come to the court of Gelo assert that he had circumnavigated Libya.[295][

It is typically argued that Strabo was wrong. The authors of the Loeb Classical Library edition of Strabo are sufficiently convinced of that fact that they replace Darius name in the translation with that of Neco, adding in a footnote:

> All scholars agree that Strabo or Poseidonius made a mistake in giving the name of Darius here. It was Neco who ordered the circumnavigation of Africa, while Darius ordered that of Arabia."[296]

But Strabo has made no mistake. Neither can we accuse Poseidonius of error. Necao, at the time of the expedition, was a vassal of Persia and subject to directives forthcoming from that source. There is no fundamental conflict between Strabo's claim that the naval expedition was "commissioned" by Darius I, and the statement of Herodotus who says

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[294] Lloyd, op.cit., p. 150-51.
[295] Strabo, Geography 2.3.4. We use the translation of H.L. Jones and J.R.S. Sterett in the Loeb Classical Library.
[296] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 376 - note 1 to the Greek text.

that the sailors were "dispatched" by Necao. Whether Poseidonius knew that Necao was acting under directives from Darius, and interpreted Herodotus accordingly, or whether some portion of the original Herodotus has been lost in transmission is impossible to say. We can note, however, that once again the names of Darius I and Wahemibre Necao have been confused in the historical record and apparently for the same reason. The two kings were contemporaries and participants in the identical activities.

It is obvious what motivated Darius to initiate the naval expedition. The oceanic route to the Mediterranean was likely conceived for precisely the same reasons as the canal construction. Darius was in desperate need to establish a water bridge between Persia and the anticipated Mediterranean/Adriatic arena of his war with Greece. Supply links had to be created. Assuming that the expedition was planned before Necao's rebellion, a sea-route, assuming the sailors were able to discover one, would be an alternative to the canal route, and particularly valuable should the canal not be completed on schedule. It might also discover new sources of supply.

But Herodotus seems to suggest that Necao dispatched the Phoenician sailors *after* he had "abandoned the digging of the canal from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf." It is possible, of course, that Herodotus is mistaken in the timing of the event and that the ships were dispatched before Necao's revolt was underway, in which case there is no problem. But even assuming the accuracy of Herodotus there is no inherent difficulty. Necao was now at war with Persia and anticipating a Persian reprisal. Warships were necessary on two fronts - on the Red Sea to counter a Persian naval offensive via the Indian Ocean, and at the Nile Delta where numerous tributaries needed defending. Of the two locations the latter was by far the more susceptible to attack and the least defensible. With the canal construction abandoned Necao may have decided to proceed with the Darius initiative, both for supplies and as a possible means of transferring part of his Red Sea fleet to the Delta should need arise.

The reduction of Saite dynasty dates by 121 years, which produces an overlap between the last few years at the end of the reign of Darius I and the first few years of the reign of Wahemibre Necao, has once again solved rather than created problems. We are now able to explain the otherwise inexplicable dual traditions crediting Darius I and Necao with the identical activities of canal construction and circumnavigation. We have at hand the identity of the "barbarian" mentioned by Herodotus; an explanation of how an Egyptian king can be described as "toiling on behalf of" this barbarian, and a reason why building a canal should be deemed so offensive that it is abruptly terminated only marginally short of completion. We also know why the work stoppage was followed immediately by war preparation. Is it merely coincidence that the first years of Necao fall precisely at the time of Darius' wars, a correspondence in time essential to all of the explanations? A more detailed analysis of Necao's rebellion will only increase the conviction that we are on the right track.

Triremes & Rebellion

Triremes on the Red Sea

Immediately following the work stoppage on the canal Necao redirected the war effort. Instead of working to assist Persia against Greece, he prepared to drive the Persians from Egypt. According to Herodotus he immediately began building warships (triremes) both on the Mediterranean and on the Red Sea. We repeat the quote from Herodotus:

> Necos then ceased from making the canal and engaged rather in warlike preparation; some of his ships of war (lit. triremes) were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast: the landing-engines of these are still to be seen. He used these ships at need, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus, taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis after the battle. He sent to Branchidae of Miletus and dedicated there to Apollo the garments in which he won these victories. Presently he died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis reigned in his stead. Her. 2.159

We should probably understand this shipbuilding activity as a continuation of an effort already underway, since we know from previous discussion that Darius had requisitioned warships from unspecified locations within his empire in preparation for his anticipated war with Greece. The shipyards were already in place; the construction already in progress. Necao merely allocated the production to a different cause.

Some have questioned the fact that Necao would build triremes for use on the Red Sea. Alan Lloyd, for example, arguing from the point of view of the traditional history, can see no possible use for such warships in this region at this time.

> Whether we take the view that the word 'triremes' reflects the use of Greek triremes, or the view that they are Phoenician, or whether we adopt the minimalist interpretation that the term is anachronistic and simply reflects the introduction of the most up-to-date ramming war-galleys available, we are still confronted with the situation that Necho has considered it worth his while to place a squadron of the most advanced warships of his time in an area where, to an Egyptological or Classical eye, they appear completely superfluous. Yet such vessels were expensive, particularly in high-quality timber resources with which Egypt was very ill endowed. They were also, in the light of current ambitions, worth their military weight in gold in the Mediterranean. Necho must have had what he thought was a very good reason for this move. What was it? [297]

[297] Lloyd, "Necho and the Red Sea," p. 146.

Lloyd recalls the argument, proposed by another scholar, that Necho's action reflected a concern over possible expansionist policies of the Chaldaean Empire and that therefore the "the ships were intended to meet a possible attack by naval forces operating against the east coast of Egypt". He appropriately rejects the suggestion. Neither Nabopolassar nor Nebuchadrezzar, Necao's contemporaries in the traditional history, is known to have engaged in naval warfare. And according to that same history, even a land force led by the Chaldaean king never seriously threatened Egypt under Wahemibre Necao. Concerning the possibility of a Babylonian naval attack Lloyd concludes:

> This seems extremely improbable. Given all available precedents as well as the prevailing military and naval situation, this would surely have seemed to Necho the remotest of all possibilities - so remote, in fact, that omitting to station a fleet in the Red Sea against the Chaldaeans could surely not have arisen even to the level of a calculated risk. The solution must lie elsewhere.[298]

Elsewhere indeed. The solution lies in correctly placing the Saite dynasty a century forward in time. The Chaldaeans were not a naval threat to Egypt, but Persia certainly was. Persian fleets manned by Phoenician sailors sailed both the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. And the Persian navy employed by Darius I and Xerxes was famous for its widespread use of the Greek trireme.

Even Herodotus' use of the term trireme, as Lloyd himself admits, is a possible anachronism from the point of view of the traditional history. A strong case can be made that triremes did not exist when Wahemibre Necao ruled Egypt according to the accepted chronology (610-595 B.C.) The trireme is a late sixth century innovation in naval warfare. Only in the fifth century was it widely used as a naval vessel, and that precisely in the time of Darius and Xerxes in their wars with the Greeks. Either the use of the term by Herodotus is anachronistic, or the dates for Necao should be lowered by a hundred years.

There is no time and no need to reproduce the argument regarding the trireme, since the possibility of anachronistic use remains to negate its value. But the fact remains that the earliest literary references to the existence of the trireme are all from Persian times, and classical scholars are almost unanimous in their opinion that the trireme replaced the fifty-oar galley only in the 5th century. According to A.R. Burn, arguably the foremost 20th century authority on the Greek wars with Persia, in his *Persia & the Greeks* (2nd, 1984):

> Thycydides (i. 14) says that 'triremes in large numbers were' [first] 'acquired by the Sicilian tyrants and by Kerkyra, not long before the Persian wars and the death of Darius' [486]; 'these were the last significant navies to arise in Greece before Xerxes' invasion. For the fleets of Aigina and Athens and others were small in numbers, and mostly of fifty-oared galleys at that.' Exactly at what

[298] Ibid.

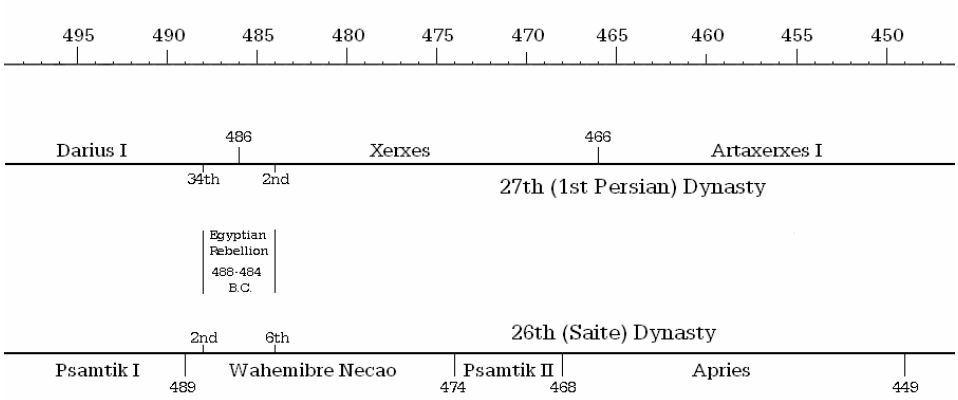
> point the simple fifty-oar gave place completely to the trireme as the standard ship of the line, and whether Thucydides can here be completely trusted (he is writing to prove that his was the biggest war ever fought), is a difficult problem. If his statement is completely accurate, there must have been prodigious building activity throughout Greece and the Levant, and not only at Athens, in 490-480.[299]

We remind the reader that 490-480 B.C. is precisely the time of Necao's reign in the revised history. His construction of triremes in large numbers is not anachronistic. It is the accepted Saite dynasty chronology that is in error.

The Egyptian Rebellion

We are not told by Herodotus precisely how much time was consumed in Necao's "preparations for war" before the actual physical confrontation occurred. We assume less than a year. Since the Egyptian revolt against Darius, based on the data supplied by Herodotus, took place late in the year 487 B.C., about a year before Darius' death in November, 486 B.C., we can reasonably date the cessation of work on the canal, and thus the beginning of the rebellion, to the year 488 B.C., the 34th year of Darius.

Figure 31: Timeline – 1st Egyptian Rebellion



A single line of text in Herodotus describes the entire military enterprise of Wahemibre Necao. In the aftermath of the cessation of work on the Nile/Red Sea canal, having

[299] A.R. Burn, *Persia & the Greeks* 2nd (1984) p. 276 n. 45.

mobilized his army and sufficiently prepared his navy, Necao "used these ships at need, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus, taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis after the battle".

In the traditional history these two land battles must suffice to represent the entire military life of pharaoh Necho, who ruled Egypt from 610-595 B.C., who supposedly served as a powerful ally of Assyria in its attempt to defend then recover Harran for the Assyrian king Ashuruballit, who killed Josiah, king of Judah when he attempted to intervene, and who, for a decade, proved to be a foil in Nebuchadrezzar's attempts to dominate the Hatti lands. Is there any hint of the activity of this late 7th century king in the actions mentioned in this single line of text from Herodotus? We think not.

Magdolus (Migdol) is a fortress location on the northeast corner of the Egyptian delta! Cadytis, less clearly identified, is probably another troop location in the vicinity of Gaza (if not Gaza itself), several hundred miles further east from Migdol at the other end of the desert road linking southern Palestine with Egypt. Both locations were defensive strongholds, typically occupied by Egyptian troops. Necao is apparently at war with himself! Something is amiss.

Historians typically emend the Herodotus reference in an attempt to salvage some reminiscence of Neco's wars with Babylon from the description. How and Wells, in their influential *Commentary on Herodotus* illustrate the interpretive process. Concerning Magdolus they say:

> The battle was really fought at Megiddo, where the coast-road comes out on the plain of Esdraelon; here Thothmes III had beaten the Syrian confederates nearly 1000 years before. H(erodotus) confuses this name with 'Migdol', the border fortress of Egypt on the north-east (cf. Exod. xiv.2; Jer. xliv.1)."

As for Cadytis, these same authors note that it is

> only mentioned here and in iii.5.1 where H(erodotus) describes it as 'about the size of Sardis'. It has been identified with Jerusalem and its name explained as = 'the holy' (cf. the present Arab name 'El Kuds'); Necho perhaps took Jerusalem (2 Chron xxxvi.3). But it is clear from iii.5 that Cadytis was on the coast, at the south end of the road from Phoenicia to Egypt; and H(erodotus)'s comparison with Sardis, which may rest on his own observation, would certainly not suit Jerusalem in the days of humiliation after the return from the Exile. Gaza, on the other hand (certainly captured by Necho), was always an important station of the trade-route from Egypt to Syria and had special connexion with Arabia; cf. G.A. Smith, Hist. Geog. 182-3)."[300]

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[300] W.W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus with Introduction and Appendixes* (1912): (2 Vol. reprint ed.) I: 247.

There is no need to emend Magdolus to Megiddo, or to find some etymological way to turn Cadytis into a major Palestinian city. Necao Wahemibre is not the seventh century pharaoh Necho, in spite of the similarity of name. He is the leader of the Egyptian rebellion against Persia in the year 487/6 B.C., and it is not at all surprising that his only military enterprise consisted in attacking Migdol and Gaza, garrison towns most likely defended by the relatively few troops remaining loyal to Persia (if not actual ethnic Persians). We can assume that the mercenaries in old Cairo (Egyptian Babylon), Elephantine and Tahpanhes have already sided with Necao and are party to the Egyptian rebellion.

The brief record of Necao's military action preserved by Herodotus is completely consistent with the 5th century context in which the Saite dynasty king falls in the revised history. Not a single detail in Herodotus remains unexplained. The absence of additional information about his life is precisely what is expected. Within a few years Xerxes put down the rebellion. The name of Necao was obliterated from the few monuments he had erected, probably by Xerxes (certainly not by his successor Psamtik II as Egyptologists claim). We can only speculate as to the fate of the Egyptian king. He clearly survived the reprisal by Xerxes early in 484 B.C., since he lived into his sixteenth year (474 B.C.). Whether he fled the country and lived in exile, was taken captive and later released, or was defeated in battle and immediately restored to office, with increased restriction, is not known.

The problem is not so simple for the traditional history, where hardly a single detail in Herodotus suits the 7th century context in which Necao is placed. On the understanding inherent in the traditional history that Wahemibre Necao was the 7th century pharaoh Necho, arguably a powerful ruler who engaged in extensive wars in Asia throughout the length of his reign, the question has legitimately been raised: Where are the monuments bearing witness to this alleged sixteen year reign of Wahemibre Necao?

> Books on Egyptian history tell an extensive story of Necho(ii)'s wars against Nebuchadnezzar, but this story is based on the rich material of the Scriptures; his other activities are described with the help of information gleaned from Herodotus. Egyptian inscriptions have been searched for mention of a pharaoh named Neco and of his campaigns. Egyptian archaeology could not supply the story of the long war. The only extant inscription of any historical value that is related to Pharaoh Necho is supposed to be the Serapeum stele, which records the burial of an Apis by His Majesty Nekau-Wehemibre. ... Historiography is content with this single monumental relic of the rich past of Pharaoh Neco. It is strange indeed that in the annals of Egypt no account has been found of the long war between Nekau-Wehemibre and Nebuchadnezzar; no record of the civic activities of Nekau-Wehemibre is extant; no law published in his day has been found; no temple built by him has been unearthed; no written scroll discovered; no mummy or coffin. Judged by the Egyptian material, he must have been a ruler of few achievements. But then how could he have been a match for

> Nebuchadnezzar for almost a generation? How could he have succeeded in making the Palestinian kings, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Zedekiah, believe that he would be able to free Palestine from the yoke of the mightiest monarch Babylon had ever known?[301]

Immanuel Velikovsky, whom we have quoted above, wonders why the only monumental inscription of note that mentions the name of Wahemibre Necao "is an epitaph on the tomb of a bull."[302] And the problem is not only the silence concerning Necao's military achievements. If Herodotus is correct in ascribing to Necao the construction of the first canal joining the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, the building of a large fleet of war ships on the pattern of the Greek triremes, and the pioneering circumnavigation of Africa, achievements any one of which would merit widespread publication by pharaohs who preceded him, the silence of the monuments is overwhelming. Unless, of course, Necao was not the 7th century opponent of Nebuchadrezzar and does not deserve credit for the naval achievements. If he was a puppet king, and the initiative for the canal and the circumnavigation and the construction of triremes was a Persian overlord, specifically Darius, then the silence of Wahemibre Necao is to be expected. Why boast about activities performed under duress, by order of a higher authority?

Necao was not the opponent of Nebuchadrezzar; he was a vassal king of the Persian province of Egypt under Darius II. His dates were 489-474 B.C., not 610-595 B.C. The construction of the canal, the building of triremes, and the circumnavigation of Africa can all be connected with the military wars of Darius II against Greece, and Darius deserves the sole credit for these initiatives. Wahemibre Necao can be commended for a single achievement, of short duration but nevertheless notable - the brief liberation of Egypt from Persian domination. The Egyptians remembered the event for decades. The evidence is forthcoming from the Serapeum chambers of the Apis bulls.

Apis Bulls of the 1st Persian Domination

Documentation for the Apis bulls that died during the first Persian domination (525-404 B.C.) is curiously lacking. According to the most recent interpretation there are at most five deaths attested for the entire 120-year period. The Egyptologist Didier Devauchelle enumerated the dates most recently. According to this noted authority on the Serapeum stelae, the five bulls died in the 6th year of Cambyses (524 B.C.), the 4th (517 B.C.), 31st (490 B.C.) and 34th (487 B.C.) years of Darius I and the 11th year of Darius II (412 B.C.).[303] We have previously examined the data related to the bull that died in the 6th

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[301] Immanuel Velikovsky, *Ramses II and His Times* (1978) p 3-4.
[302] Ibid., p. 60.
[303] D. Devauchelle, "Le sentiment anti-perse chez les anciens Egyptierns," Transeuphratene 9

year of Cambyses and concluded that this was the same bull which died in the 20th year of Psamtik I.[304] Our attention now focuses on the other four bulls, with emphasis on the two deaths attributed to the 31st and 34th years of Darius I. This will be a lengthy digression. The reason should be apparent. If the 26th and 27th dynasties overlap throughout much of their length, as argued in the revised history, then we must verify that the Apis bull records of the two dynasties can be reconciled. We have made a good start by demonstrating the correspondence between the Cambyses and Psamtik bulls. We will examine the remaining deaths in chronological order.

Louvre #357 - 4th Year (Darius I)

According to the Serapeum stela Louvre #357[305] an Apis bull died in the 4th year of a king Darius at the age of slightly over eight years. The bull was born in the 5th year of a king whose name is obscured on the badly damaged stela. On the assumption that the Darius in question was Darius I, the unnamed king is typically identified as Cambyses, and the bull's birth date is fixed in the year 525 B.C., Cambyses' fifth year. Its death is dated to 518 B.C., the 4th year of Darius I. Two problems result from this data that have served to generate a vast quantity of literature, namely 1) the inescapable conclusion that the birth of the second bull precedes the death of its predecessor by a year and three months (an unprecedented phenomenon and apparently in conflict with the basic theology of the Memphis cult) and 2) the time span between the birth and death of the bull amounts to only seven years 3 months, not the eight years 3 months that are named on the stela.

At first glance there is no need for further discussion of the matter. Our reason for reviewing the Apis bull records from the 27th dynasty is to determine if a conflict exists with the documented Apis deaths from the 26th dynasty. In this case there can be no conflict, whether or not this bull is correctly attributed to the reign of Darius I. The record of Apis deaths from the Saite period is missing precisely in the several decades between the 20th year and the 53rd years of Psamtik I. If an Apis bull died in 518 B.C., in the 4th year of Darius, thus the 26th year of Psamtik I, then the official stela bearing Psamtik's name, assuming one was made, has either not been discovered or has not survived.

It is for other reasons that we given an opinion on when this bull died. On the one hand the stela we are discussing was found in the tomb of the Amasis bull in the Greater Vaults of the Serapeum. At least four other stelae were found by Mariette in the same general area bearing either the identical date of death or the date of the funeral of this

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(1995) p. 70.

[304] Supra, chapter 6 s.v. "Cambyses' Apis Bull".

[305]The most complete publication remains G. Posener, *La Premiere Domination Perse En Egypte* (1936) p.36-41 & Pl III.

same bull. Scholars therefore believe, and with good reason, that this bull must have been buried in the vicinity of the Amasis crypt. Most associate this bull with Mariette's chamber B'. If we are to adequately discuss the Serapeum evidence related to the 1st Persian domination Apis bulls that occupy the same general area, this bull must be included in the discussion.

On the other hand, we must provide an explanation for the data on one of the four associated stelae mentioned in the previous paragraph. Scholars have long been aware of the existence of the stela Louvre #366, commissioned by an official named Ptahhotep, a devotee of the bull deceased in the 4th year of Darius.[306] The stela bears the identical year, month and day of death as does Louvre #357. There is no doubt that Ptahhotep is worshipping the bull in question. But the Ptahhotep stela includes a lengthy genealogy, wherein this dignitary traces his ancestry back at least 11 generations. In the 8th generation back he mentions a Neferibre, in the 9th a Wahibre, the latter name enclosed in a cartouche. There can be little doubt that Ptahhotep is a 9th generation descendant of Wahibre Psamtik, i.e. Psamtik I. What are we to make of this evidence?

Three options were afforded scholars when it came to dating the bull deceased in the 4th year of Darius. The bull died in either the 4th year of Darius I (518 B.C.), Darius II (419 B.C.), or Darius III (332 B.C.) The stela of Ptahhotep must have played a part in the rejection of two of these possibilities.[307] According to the traditional history Psamtik I reigned from 664-610 B.C. He was therefore born around 690 B.C. at the earliest. On the assumption of twenty years per generation a 9th generation descendant would be born in 510 B.C. The possibility that Ptahhotep was alive in 332 B.C. can be rejected out of hand. Even the Darius II date would seem to be precluded, though lengthening the years per generation figure to twenty-five would date the birth of Ptahhotep around 465 B.C., leaving the second option a definite possibility. The fact that the stelae related to this bull were all found near the chambers that Mariette associated with Darius II would further support this identification. But to my knowledge scholars have never considered identifying Louvre #357 with a bull deceased in the 4th year of Darius II. The reason is obvious. Darius II was preceded on the Persian throne by Artaxerxes I who reigned for 43 years. In the traditional history the bull deceased in the 4th year of Darius II could not be born in the 5th year of the king preceding and live only 8 years. Thus there was only one possible dating of the Darius bull. The reference must be to Darius I, this in spite of an obvious conflict with the Ptahhotep stela. For Ptahhotep to erect a stela in 518 B.C. he must have been born at the latest around 550 B.C. and the years per generation figure must be around 15-16 years. While possibly correct, there is no evidence supporting such early marriages among the rank and file of the Serapeum devotees.

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[306] The only publication of this stela of which I am aware is that of Emile Chassinat, "Textes Provenant du Serapeum de Memphis," RT 23 (1901) 80-81 (bull # CXXXV in the series published by this scholar) Chassinat produces a transcription, but no transliteration and no translation.

[307] This is an assumption only. I have come across no reference to the Ptahhotep stela in any of the discussions related to the Darius year 4 bull, a rather curious omission.

In the revised history the Darius I date is ruled out entirely. Psamtik I reigned from 543-489 B.C. He was born at the earliest around 570 B.C. On the assumption of twenty years per generation Ptahhotep was born around 390 B.C. In 332 B.C. he would be 68. Increasing the age per generation figure to 22 years would lower his age in 332 B.C. to 50. These numbers are quite realistic. The Darius III date is a definite option.

The association with Darius II is tolerable, but like the Darius I option in the traditional history it demands that the age per generation figure be lowered significantly, in this case as low as 15 years.. Even at that Ptahhotep would be a youth of 16 when his stela was erected. Possible, but highly unlikely, though in the revised history there can be no objection on other grounds. It is conceivable that a bull deceased in 419 B.C. could be born 8 years earlier in 427 B.C. and have its date of birth cited as the 5th year of some Egyptian king. We have argued many times that Artaxerxes was an absentee landlord, and Amasis was but one of many dignitaries administering parts of Egypt for the Persians, many of whom were self-styled kings. And was 427 B.C. not the 23rd year of Amasis, the date when an Apis died and its replacement was likely born?[308]

In view of these numbers we reject entirely the opinion of the current generation of scholars who identify the bull deceased in the 4th year of Darius with the first Persian king by that name. The other two options must remain open, the greater probability resting with the association with Darius III. It is altogether conceivable that a bull born in the 5th year of Artaxerxes III (340 B.C.) was deceased in the 4th year of Darius III (332 B.C.).[309]

This takes us back to our other consideration, the identification of the burial site of this bull. The Darius year 4 stelae were found in the vicinity of the Darius I and II chambers in the Greater Vaults, and scholars accordingly, on the assumption that this was a bull deceased under Darius I, have associated this bull with Mariette's chamber B'. We have no argument with the association; only with the dating of the bull. In fact, on the assumption that this bull died in the 4th year of Darius II, we are more in agreement with Mariette than is the traditional history, since Mariette assigned this tomb to the reign of Darius II. And the fact that several of the Darius year 4 stelae were found in the tomb of Amasis is equally comprehensible from the point of view of the revised history. The 4th year of Darius II was the 31st year of Amasis. The Darius year 4 bull was also an Amasis bull.

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[308] The fit is not perfect. The Darius bull lived 8 years and 3 month, which would date its birth in 427 B.C. several months prior to the death of the Amasis bull. Adjusting the dates for Darius' reign by a single year would solve that problem. The Darius II option must remain open.

[309] According to the inscription on the stela Louvre #357 the bull died in the 1st month of Shemu (9th month), day 4, of the year 4 of Darius. It was born in the first month of Peret (5th month), day 29, of the fifth year of a predecessor of Darius, and the bull lived 8 years, 3 months and 5 days. For these figures to fit the situation of Darius III it is necessary to assume that the conquest of Egypt by Artaxerxes III (Ochus) occurred before Nissan 1 in 343 B.C., that Peret 1, day 29 occurred after Nissan 1 the same year, and that both Artaxerxes and Darius III used a predating system.

On the assumption that this bull was deceased in the 4th year of Darius III, its burial in chambers alongside bulls deceased in the middle decades of the 5th century is less comprehensible, but still within reason. The priests might well have decided to group together the bulls of the 1st and 2nd Persian dominations. Rather than inter this bull in sequence perhaps 20 meters further west along the southern corridor, they filled an existing gap in the sequence of Saite/Persian tombs.

It is time to move on and consider the bulls deceased later in reign of Darius I.

Bulls deceased in the 31st and 34th year of Darius I

The stela of the 4th year of Darius does serve to introduce a chronological problem that deserves to be noted. It is clear from our initial discussion in this chapter that Devauchelle dates the 4th year of Darius I in the year 517 B.C. , while in our subsequent references to the same bull we use the date 518 B.C. This single year difference, which also applies to the remaining bulls which supposedly died under Darius I, is but the proverbial "tip of an iceberg", reminding us that there exist problems related to the dating of Persian kings in this so-called "first Persian domination". These problems will be discussed on an ad hoc basis. In the case of Darius I the major problem is deciding when precisely his reign began. The issue has generated copious amounts of literature and its analysis lies far beyond the scope of this revision. Sufficient to say that we follow throughout this chapter the dating scheme espoused by Leo Depuydt, published in a recent edition of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (1995).[310] According to Depuydt, who represents the majority of Egyptologists, the 4th year of Darius I occupied the time span from Dec. 31, 519 B.C. through Dec. 20, 518 B.C. and is therefore essentially identical to the Julian year 518 B.C., not the 517 B.C. date which formed the basis of Devauchelle's dating scheme. Accordingly, we must move back one full year the dates for the 27th dynasty Apis bulls deceased under Darius I as provided earlier by Devauchelle. The revised dates are reproduced below in table 14. We have already been using the 518 B.C. date in our discussion of the bull supposedly deceased in the 4th year of Darius I.

[310] Leo Depuydt, "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Achaemenid Egypt," JEA 81 (1995) p.151-173.

Table 15: Apis Bull Deaths (1st Persian Domination)

King Name	Year of Reign	Absolute Date
Cambyses	6th	524 B.C.
Darius I	4th?	518 B.C.?
Darius I	31st	491 B.C.
Darius I	34th?	488 B.C.?
Darius II	11th?	412 B.C.?

According to Devauchelle two other Apis deaths took place in the reign of Darius I, one in his 31st and one in his 34th year. We dispute this claim. We argue instead that only one bull died. The death occurred in the 31st year of Darius, the burial took place three years later. Explanation is clearly needed. Because the matter is critical to this revision the discussion will be thorough.

One Apis or Two?

The first edition of the classic Porter & Moss *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts* lists for the reign of Darius I a single stela dated to his 31st year (Louvre #362) and approximately forty stelae attributed to his 34th year.[311] That same bibliography carefully avoids identifying either of these years as the year of an Apis' death. At least for the year 34 bull the reason is clear - none of the stelae specifically states that an Apis died that year!

Of the forty odd stelae listed for the 34th year of Darius I only eight actually contain the year date. A few others name Darius but give no year. At least thirty of the stelae specify neither the king's name nor the year they were erected. However, when Emile Chassinat published this Darius group of stelae in three editions of the *Recueil de traveaux* at the turn of the 20th century, each was assigned an editorial date - the 34th year of Darius I.[312] Chassinat did not equivocate. On other Serapeum stelae published

[311] B. Porter & R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglypic texts, reliefs, and paintings* (1927-51) II: 213. The data for Darius' years 31 and 32 is listed but not ascribed to a specific bull. No bull is listed for the 11th year of Darius II.
[312] E. Chassinat, "Textes Provenant Du Serapeum De Memphis" RT 21 (1899) 56-73; RT 23

by the same scholar in this same journal, where the date is uncertain that fact is recorded. No reason is given for Chassinat's confidence regarding the undated stelae, though he probably depends on records supplied by Mariette in his 19th century excavation of the Serapeum. How Mariette arrived at his conclusions is not always clear. Probably, in most instances, the undated stelae were found in close physical proximity to those that are dated and/or they are stylistically similar to those monuments.[313] In the absence of evidence to the contrary we must assume that all these stelae are in some way connected with an event that took place in Darius' 34th year, which we identify as the funeral of an Apis bull. We do not imply that they were all deposited at the identical time, only that they relate to the same bull. Depending on where the stelae were erected, and when they were ultimately consigned to the Serapeum vaults, some may have originated at the time of the bull's death in the 31st year (but were undated), others to the funeral in the 34th year. A few may have been erected above ground in the interim between the bull's death and its funeral, and some, perhaps, in the decades immediately following Darius 34th year. As we will soon see, this was not a normal funeral.

By the time of the 2nd edition of the *Porter and Moss Bibliography* the list of year 31 hieroglyphic monuments had increased by one and the year 34 stelae had increased in number to 59, now divided by the *Bibliography* into three groups - 17 dated stelae, 3 stelae from the "time (of) Darius I, probably year 34", and 39 stelae "probably (from the) time (of) Darius I, year 34".[314]

Most recently Devauchelle has added two hieroglyphic and 3 demotic inscriptions to the list of year 31 monuments and 4 demotic inscriptions bearing the date of Darius year 34. He suggests that by now the Serapeum list for this period is likely complete.[315]

Our analysis of these stelae is largely restricted to the early group edited by Chassinat, since these are representative of the entire collection and are readily accessible, at least in transcription. The question that concerns us most is whether these stelae represent the

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(1901) 76-91; RT 25 (1903) 50-62. All but two of the inscriptions are scattered through these three editions. Two others are found in RT 22 (1900) 25-6, 173-4.

[313] On Mariette's map of the Serapeum tombs only one chamber (chamber A) is assigned to a bull deceased under Darius I (Mariette's Apis XLIII). We assume that all of the Darius year 34 stelae were found together in this crypt. Two other chambers are said to relate to bulls which died under Darius II. If we accept this evidence at face value this would argue both for our former suggestion that the year 4 Darius bull does not belong to the reign of Darius I and our present claim that there was but a single death in either year 31 or in year 34. Needless to say, scholars reject Mariette's opinion. This is a mistake on their part. We discuss this matter further momentarily and additional comment will follow later when we look at Mariette's map.

[314] B. Porter & R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglypic texts, reliefs, and paintings* (1927-51) 2nd III: 799-804. The data is now included under the headings indicated. No bull is listed for the 11th year of Darius II.

[315] Didier Devauchelle, "Les steles du Serapeum de Memphis conservees au musee du Louvre," EVO 17 (1994) = Acta Demotica (Acts of the fifth International Conference for Demotists), p. 103-4..

death (and burial) of one Apis bull or two. Scholars are divided on the issue, most accepting the year 34 death while remaining uncommitted on the earlier. The discussion below suggests otherwise. It is the Apis deceased in the year 31 that is certain; the Apis buried in Darius' 34th year is the same bull.

The fact of a single Apis is supported by several considerations:

In the first place there is no room in the Serapeum for an additional bull from the reign of Darius I. Mariette has identified only a single chamber in the greater vaults of the Serapeum belonging to an Apis deceased under Darius I, and two with bulls deceased under Darius II. Scholars assume that Mariette has confused Darius I and II, and they have assigned all three bulls, Mariette's Apis nos. XLIII, XLIV, and XLV, to the year 34 of Darius I, the year 4 of Darius I, and the year 31 of Darius I, respectively. Porter and Moss are careful to describe the year 31 bull ambiguously as a bull deceased "between years 4 and 34 of Darius I". Clearly they entertain doubts as to the date.

This arrangement leaves out of the picture entirely the bull from the 11th year of Darius II, and ignores Mariette's claim that two bulls from the reign of Darius II belong in these tombs. Where did the priests entomb the bull from the 11th year of Darius II? And where is the second Darius II bull? We are short at least two burial chambers.[316]

A second argument relates to the longevity of the bulls in question. Apis bulls typically live between 15 and 20 years. The assumption that an Apis died in year 31 and that his replacement died in year 34 creates two related problems. The three-year life span of the bull that lived from years 31 to 34 is too short, and the twenty-seven years for the bull that died in year 31 (on the assumption that this bull was born in the 4th year of Darius I) is too long. Both eventualities are possible, but highly improbable. The life span of 27 years would qualify the one bull as the longest-lived bull on record. The abbreviated 3 years life of the second bull would identify its life as one of the shortest. No wonder that the editors of the *Porter & Moss Bibliography* would rather see the year 31 date lowered somewhat, providing a solution to both problems. But Devauchelle is adamant that the year 31 date is correct.[317]

How are these difficulties to be resolved?

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[316] If we accept our earlier argument concerning the Darius year 4 bull, especially the suggestion that it died in the 4th year of Darius II, then Mariette is entirely vindicated. The year 4 bull was buried in chamber B' and the year 11 bull in chamber C'. All tombs would be accounted for and assigned accurately by Mariette.

[317] Ibid. p. 104. "L'existence de cet Apis ist assure bien qu'on n'ait pas retrouve son epitaphe officielle."

A Single Apis Deceased in Year 31

The controversy can be avoided by a simple expedient, suggested by the nature and quantity of the stelae themselves and by the history of the period as summarized in the preceding sections of this chapter.

We agree with Devauchelle that an Apis died in the year 31. We disagree that its replacement died prematurely in the 34th year. As we will soon see, the replacement bull lived a full eighteen years, equalling its life expectancy. Making this change at least solves the problem of the premature death. The unlikely lifespan of 27 years for the preceding Apis must be explained otherwise. We have already begun the explanation. We have identified the Darius 4th year bull as belonging to the time of either Darius II or Darius III. We assume that the replacement for the bull deceased in Cambyses' 6th year lived an average lifespan of around 16 years. This would date the death of this bull around the 14th year of Darius I (508 B.C.) and would imply that its successor, the bull which died in Darius 31st year, also lived an average number of years. Alternatively, on the assumption that the Ptahhotep genealogy is flawed and we maintain the traditional dating of the Darius 4th year bull, one might examine the possibility of other dating conventions, an approach already anticipated by Devauchelle himself, who has experimented with alternative ways of numbering the years of Darius I, and has dated the 4th year of that king as early as 519 B.C. and as late as 514 B.C.[318] The matter does not concern this revision.

There remains for us to justify our specific claim that the Apis which died in the 31st year of Darius was not buried until the 34th year of that same king. The argument is necessarily long.

We begin by noting that among the forty odd stelae edited by Chassinat, none provides details about the Apis' birth and coronation, and only a single stela provides any reliable historical detail concerning its death. Louvre #326 preserves in the dateline some details about the funeral. "Darius year 34. (In the) 6th month, day 11 the god was conducted in peace to the beautiful west". It continues by describing the titles and name of the donor. The stela says nothing about the date of death of the bull. There remains therefore the *possibility* that the bull had died several years earlier? What is needed is evidence which will turn that possibility into a probability.

In the absence of a stela inscription that explicitly states that the year 34 funeral celebrates the life of a bull deceased three years prior, we itemize below a succession of factual statements, situational anomalies and stela inscriptions that can only be explained

[318] In his Acta Demotica article (note 26 above) Devauchelle dates the 6th year of Cambyses around 524 B.C. and the 4th, 31st and 34th years of Darius II in 514 B.C., 487 B.C. and 484 B.C. respectively. In his Transeuphratene article (note 18 above) the Darius years have changed. They are now 517 B.C., 490 B.C. and 487 B.C.. In view of possible delays in publication it is not entirely clear which dates were published earlier.

if that hypothesis is correct. Let the reader decide if we are right.

1) The dateline of Louvre #326 is highly unusual for a private stela erected at a typical funeral. Such monuments are often undated, though a significant number do include the year date of the funeral and a small fraction of these retain the month. The *day* of the funeral is a feature typically included only on the official stela, which is conspicuously absent for this supposedly short-lived bull.[319] The mention of the day of the funeral on this stela is at least suggestive that something unusual is happening. The fact that at least two other stelae, discovered or edited after Chassinat's publications, bear the identical dateline, only serves to underscore the unusual nature of this event.[320]

2) The fact of delayed funerals has already been argued by Egyptologists. We need go no further afield than the Apis bull of Cambyses 6th year. In order to solve the dating problems related to its successor, the bull that died in the 4th year of Darius, Posener long ago argued that the funeral of the first bull, which presumably died in the fifth year of Cambyses, was delayed until Cambyses' 6th year. Many, if not the majority of scholars, accept Posener's solution. It is argued that this delay was due to the confusion surrounding the invasion of Cambyses in 525 B.C.[321] While we dispute this argument, we note for the record that scholars at least admit the possibility of a delayed funeral as proposed in this revision. If the delay could happen once, it could happen twice. Besides, as we will show momentarily, there is no doubt that the burial in Darius' 34th year was delayed by at least a month, and probably much longer.

3) The delayed funeral of the bull deceased in Darius' 31st year can be attributed to two causes, the first related to the political circumstances prevailing at the time of death. The 31st year of Darius I is the Julian year 491 B.C. Within Egypt mobilization was well underway for the Persian assault on Greece. Marathon was only a year away. Egyptians by the thousands had almost certainly been conscripted and had already left for the war. Meanwhile the Nile/Red Sea canal construction was ongoing. Time pressures had perhaps led to an accelerated effort. Hundreds of thousands of Egyptians were labouring intensively to build Darius' canal; tens of thousands were dying in the attempt, this according to Herodotus. In the midst of this turmoil an Apis bull died in Memphis. It was not a suitable time for a funeral, typically a time of national mourning, but at the same time a celebration. We can at least understand why the funeral *might be* delayed.

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[319] EVO 17 (1994) p. 104. "On ne connait pas l'epitaphe officielle commemorant la mort et l'enterrement de cet Apis."

[320] Devauchelle, "Presentation Des Steles Nouvellement Decouvertes Au Serapeum," BSFE 106 (June 1986) p. 36, sees the date on RB 18382 (no details provided). The dateline also occurs on Vercoutters Texte K (SIM 4039) in *Textes Biographiques* (pp. 70-77). This stela is discussed below.

[321] Posener argues the case in his *La Premiere Domination Perse En Egypte* (1936) p.172-4. But we argue that transporting the deceased animal from the surface to the underground chamber could be accomplished expeditiously no matter what chaotic conditions prevailed above ground in the vicinity of Memphis.

4) While the political situation might be a partial explanation for a delayed funeral, it remains - as does Posener's proposed solution to the dating problems related to the Cambyses' bull - purely speculative. In the case of the bull deceased in 491 B.C. there exists a more practical and verifiable explanation. When the bull died in 491 B.C. its tomb was not ready. Its burial had to be delayed. The fact is certain based on several considerations. All, save one, are discussed in the various arguments that follow. Only one is considered here. Again we look to the revised history. In that history the year 491 B.C. is the 53rd year of Psamtik I. Scholars have long been aware from the inscription on the stela Louvre #239 that a collapse of major proportions occurred in the "lesser vaults" of the Serapeum in the 52nd year of Psamtik I. We have already discussed this event, which must be dated to the year 492 B.C., less than a year prior to the Apis' death in Darius' 31st year.[322] Scholars are unanimous in the belief that the construction of the "greater vaults" began immediately following Psamtik's 52nd year. The Apis death occurred at a most inopportune time. Not only was the tomb not ready, but the labour force necessary to construct an entirely new vault, complete with entrance corridor, was otherwise occupied with the canal and with the war.

5) Assuming that the delayed burial can be attributed to the named causes, how do we explain the timing of the actual burial three years removed. Two explanations are forthcoming, corresponding to the two factors that contributed to the delay. On the one hand three years is a reasonable estimate of the time required to complete the construction of new vaults, complete with corridors, descent ramps and stairs, and at minimum a single burial chamber, especially in view of the labour shortage. Since details are lacking on how much of the "greater vaults" was constructed at this time no more can be said. The political situation is another matter entirely. If the delay was in part attributable to the chaotic conditions prevailing in the years immediately following 491 B.C., then the 34th year of Darius was the earliest suitable time for the burial, even if the vault was completed earlier. The year 34 of Darius 1 falls in the Julian year 488 B.C. It was the year when Wahemibre Necao ventured to declare Egyptian independence from Persia, halted the hated canal construction, and revolted against the oppressive conscription and excessive taxation of Darius I. The Egyptian rebellion had begun. It was an opportune time for a celebration, in this case a funeral celebration.

6) The historical situation outlined above provides an explanation for three related anomalies not highlighted in our previous discussion. The first concerns the number of stelae erected and raises the question: How do we explain the production of sixty stelae in the 34th year of Darius I? Typically a single stela accompanies the funeral of an Apis. Infrequently there exist upward of a half dozen monuments. The most notable exceptions are the 21st year of Psamtik I and this 34th year of Darius I. The first of these

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[322] Many scholars continue to consider that the bull which was born in Psamtik's 53rd year replaced a bull deceased in his 52nd year, based largely on Louvre #239. But Breasted argued a century ago that this stela has been wrongly interpreted and merely records repairs to some unspecified damage to an Apis burial chanber [BAR IV 963-966].

exceptions, the over 160 stelae commemorating the bull which died in Psamtik's 20th year, has been explained as the result of the arrival of Cambyses in Egypt, marking the end of the "exile", a *cause célèbre* for rejoicing. We noted at the time that no explanation was forthcoming from adherents of the traditional history to explain what was happening. Neither has any attempt been made to explain the unusual response to the assumed death in Darius' 34th year. But an explanation is demanded. In the revised history one is readily available. The year 488 B.C. marked the calm before the storm in the Egyptian quest for national liberation. Excitement was the rule of the day, but anxiety also prevailed at the prospect of retaliation by the Persians. Both were equally good reasons to seek the attention of the god. We can readily understand why, in anticipation of the inevitable encounter with the Persians, there should be erected multiple stelae either in gratitude for the deliverance already received or invoking the protective assistance of Osiris/Ptah. The votive stela admirably served both purposes.

7) The second anomaly concerns the bull to whom such overwhelming devotion was shown. On the assumption that two Apis bulls died in the years 31 and 34 of Darius I, the first having lived for 27 years and the second for 3 years, we should question why the longer lived bull was practically ignored by devotees of the cult, while the neophyte was overwhelmed with attention. No explanation is forthcoming from historians. The question is not even asked by Egyptologists. But the question is valid and our historical reconstruction provides the answer. There was no neophyte bull. It was the death of the elderly "year 31" bull (elderly, though probably not 27 years old) that was being remembered in the 34th year of Darius I.

8) A third anomaly exists in connection with the hypothetical bull whose premature death in the 34th year was so widely celebrated. We have previously remarked how the death in year 31, in the days of Chassinat, was attested by a single monument, Louvre #362. This monument actually dates from the Ptolemaic era but memorializes the bull which died several hundred years earlier in the 31st year of Darius I.[323] Considering the two hundred year delay in inscribing this monument we can understand why Egyptologists at the time of Chassinat entertained doubts about the reliability of the year 31 death (and still do). Only subsequently have additional inscriptions surfaced to settle the question for Egyptologists such as Devauchelle. But Louvre #362 raises an entirely different question for this revision, one ignored by scholars. How does it happen that two hundred years after the event the Ptolemies still remembered the bull deceased in Darius' 31st year, a bull seemingly ignored by its Egyptian contemporaries, and in so doing completely ignored the bull deceased in Darius' 34th year, a bull excessively memorialized by the earlier generation of Egyptians? Something is very wrong. But the answer is manifest if our hypothesis is correct. The bull that died in the year 31 was the same bull memorialized in the year 34. The Ptolemies are merely continuing the tradition, begun in the year 34 (or earlier), of publicly memorializing the year 31 bull. It

[323] Published by Heinrich Brugsch, "Der Apis-Kreis aus den Zeiten der Ptolemaer," ZAS 22 (1884) p. 110-136.

was clearly an important time in Egyptian history, remembered and perhaps celebrated for decades.

9) If we are correct, and an Apis died early in Darius' 31st year, necessitating prolonged and intensive construction within the Serapeum, there ought to be some inscriptional verification of this unusual activity. The evidence is forthcoming from three stelae. The first two must be examined together. The third deserves separate treatment. And following the examination of these three stelae we rest our case.

RB 18403 & SIM 4039

The first two stelae were published much later than the Chassinat group. The first, RB 18403 was only recently discovered; the second, excavated by Mariette but ignored by Chassinat, was published a half century later by Jean Vercoutter in his *Textes Biographiques du Serapeum de Memphis* (1962).[324]

The first stela was recovered in the long delayed re-excavation of the greater vaults of the Serapeum, which led in 1985 to the discovery of a horde of inscribed monuments, including around 80 stelae or stela fragments. Several relate to the years 31 and 34 of Darius. One is particularly noteworthy. According to Devauchelle, who has edited the finds on behalf of the excavators, "RB no 18403, written in demotic, is dated in the year 31, 3rd month of Akhat, of pharaoh Darius (I)."[325] The stela thus dates from the third month of the year. Since this is the earliest date recorded on the corpus of year 31 documents, Devauchelle is of the opinion that the date corresponds to the time of death of the earlier bull. This date becomes important when we examine the second stela.

SIM 4039, edited by Vercoutter, refers instead to the year 34 bull. It has a dateline identical to Louvre #326 examined earlier. The following translation is based on Vercoutter:

> Year 34, 2nd month of Peret [6th month], day 11 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Darius, who has done that which pleases the living Apis in order that he [the Apis] (might) give to him [Darius] life and stability. (On this day) the god was conducted in peace to the beautiful west. Indeed, his majesty directed that his tomb be constructed in order to provide a place for the sarcophagus. The corridor that led there was opened from the end of the corridor that had been made by the forefathers. All the funerary equipment for the god was provided. (The passage) having been obstructed, one sought out the

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[324] Jean Vercoutter, *Textes Biographiques du Serapeum de Memphis* (1962) Texte K, pp. 70-77 & plate x. We mentioned this inscription earlier, ch 6 p. 199 (note) and p. 200 1st paragraph.
[325] Devauchelle, "Presentation Des Steles Nouvellement Decouvertes Au Serapeum," BSFE 106 (June 1986) p. 36

> sand/gravel (or else “one carried away the sand/gravel”) of the (or else “in order that”) ... this god in the year ... 3rd month ... ((lacuna of nearly 2 lines - the end of line 4, all line 5, and the beginning of line 6)) ... until there came the day when the great living god ascended to heaven [i.e. died] one gave (or else “one caused) ... ((lacuna of nearly one line)) ...one has never done (such a thing) ... previously

Several feature of this inscription deserve mention:

1) This not an "official" stela, an opinion expressed by the editors of the latest edition of the Porter & Moss *Bibliography*. According to Vercoutter the official inscriptions served only as a model for this text. Neither is it the typical biographical inscription. No genealogy is preserved, though the entire back (verso) of the stela is damaged and no attempt was made by Vercoutter to translate. The mere existence of this type of monument hints at the unusual circumstances that encouraged its production.

2) The stela is apparently intended to describe the construction of the tomb of the deceased Apis, a project described as one of unprecedented proportions ("one has never done (such a thing) ... previously") It is clear from the extant portion of the badly damaged text that the construction involved a new corridor extending the Serapeum beyond "the end of the corridor which had been made by the forefathers". This cannot merely refer to a lengthening of a pre-existing corridor in order to reach an appropriate location at which to excavate a new burial chamber. Such constructions were commonplace, required each time an Apis died. They were hardly labour intensive and they would not warrant special mention, much less a costly monument. Something entirely new is taking place here, a tomb construction of sufficient magnitude to warrant the time and expense consumed by this public proclamation. Keeping in mind the revised historical context in which we place this bull it seems fair to ask: Is this stela not describing the beginning of work on the "greater vaults" of the Serapeum in the year 491 B.C.? The Darius I burial chamber (chamber A') is the first one encountered when entering the “greater vaults” constructed after the “cave in” of Psamtik’s 52nd year. The location is right. And it can be argued that the time is right.

3) The text provides an important date in addition to that of the funeral. Unfortunately all that remains is the number of the month. It is the third month. The season and the year are obscured. The most natural reading of the text would identify this as the date of the bull's death, which normally precedes the date of the funeral by seventy days. But a funeral on the 11th day of the 6th month would imply a death on the 2nd day of the 4th month (4th month of Akhat) At minimum the 3rd month recorded on SIM 4039 would be a month too early, and accordingly the stela must be interpreted as saying that the funeral was delayed by a month, something Vercoutter was loathe to accept. And yet a further problem is evident. Vercoutter notes that the lacuna obscuring the year date preceding the mention of the 3rd month is too small to have contained the number 34 (“la lacuna etant trop courte pour contenir les sept signes du chiffre 34".) To circumvent the problem he suggests supplying a word, rather than a number, to fill the

gap. He assumes that the hieroglyphs for the word *tn* ("this") should replace the lacuna. He also suggests that the 3rd month of "this (34th) year" must describe the beginning of the tomb construction described in the text, not the date of the bull's death. This implies that the tomb construction was begun a month before the bull died, not a typical sequence of events. Vercoutter then speculates that the bull was sick and that the illness provided advance warning that a burial chamber would soon be needed. All of this argument assumes as a given that whatever happened in the 3rd month happened in the same year as the funeral, the 34th year of Darius.

But we know differently. The first stela we examined, RB 18403, suggested that an Apis bull died in the 3rd month of Akhat in the 31st year of Darius. We have hypothesized that this year 31 bull was not buried until the 34th year. It follows that the mention of the 3rd month on stela SIM 4039 is also a reference to the death three years earlier.

There was no need for Vercoutter to speculate on the missing year number. An actual number (not the word "this") typically follows the year indicator in dated Serapeum stelae. The seven hieroglyphs denoting the number 34 might not fit in the lacuna, but the four required for the year 31 could fit. The resulting date might well refer to the death of the bull in the 3rd month of Akhat in the 31st year of Darius, the exact time suggested by stela RB18403 as interpreted by Devauchelle[326]

Alternatively the date might refer to the onset of construction on the "greater vault" described in the stela. But if so, the construction must have begun in the 3rd month of the 31st year, the death of the bull coming a month later. At least in the revised history there is no need to assume the illness of a bull to explain the onset of construction. The "lesser vaults" were damaged in Darius' 30th year; construction on the new Serapeum vault would have begun early in Psamtik's 53rd year (= Darius' 31st year) without need of an impending death for motivation.

It is time to look at our final stela.

The General Ahmose

The third and final stela mentioned earlier remains to be examined. The Serapeum stela of the general Ahmose is well known, having been published by Chassinat and many others throughout the 20th century.[327] This general, named after Ahmose, the great 18th dynasty liberator of Egypt, describes his exhaustive efforts to honour the memory of a deceased Apis bull, including the requisitioning of contributions from high-ranking Egyptians throughout the country. The stela is undated and Chassinat omits any editorial

[326] RB 18403.
[327] Chassinat is perhaps the earliest in RT 23 (1901) p. 78 (CXXXII). Vercoutter's is the most recent in *Textes Biographiques du Serapeum de Memphis* (1962) Texte H, pp. 59-64 & plate viii.

comment, but scholars are unanimous in dating it to the reign of Darius I. Posener, who provides a transcription and translation[328], suggests that it can belong either to the years 4 or 34. Most scholars adopt the later date. In the words of Olmstead:

> At the burial of the Apis bull, presumably that of 488, the general Ahmose (Amasis) conducted the divinity to the hall of embalming and then, accompanied by archers and chosen soldiers, to his place in the necropolis. Ahmose passed all the nights watching and without sleeping, seeking to do every good thing. He placed respect for the god in the hearts of the people as well as of the foreigners of all the foreign lands who were in Egypt. He also sent messengers to the governors of the cities and nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt, and they brought their gifts to the hall of embalming.[329]

The interpretation of this monument has suffered from the unwarranted assumption that the death and burial of this bull are separated by the traditional 70 days. Let the reader decide if the activities of Ahmose can be confined to a two-month period:

> The one honoured by the Apis-Osiris, the unique companion, the chief of soldiers, Ahmose, son of Paiouenhor, born of Takapenekhbit. *He says*: (Whereas this god was conducted (lit. taken out) in peace toward the beautiful west, after all the rites in the hall of embalming (lit. W'b-t) had been accomplished for him, while he [Ahmose] remained (constantly) in front of him [the bull], overseeing the soldiers and directing the company and the special guard (lit. the elite soldiers) in order to ensure that this god should attain its place in the necropolis.) "I am a servant acting on behalf of your ka. I have passed all my nights, watching and not sleeping, looking to do for you every useful thing. I have placed respect for (or awe of) you in the heart(s) of all Egyptians (lit. all the world) and (in the hearts) of the foreigners of all foreign countries who are in Egypt by what I have done in the hall of embalming. I sent (lit. I have caused to leave) the emissaries to Upper Egypt and likewise some to Lower Egypt to summon (lit. to cause to come) all the governors of the towns and the nomes with their gifts for the house of embalming." *Also the divine fathers and the prophets of the temple of Ptah say*: "O Apis-Osiris, may you grant (lit. hear) the prayers of the one who has made (for you) every useful thing, the chief of soldiers, Ahmose. He has provided protection (lit. he has mounted a guard) around you. He has come in person bearing money, gold and royal linen, spices (lit. resin), all types of precious stone, and every (other) good thing. Reward him (lit. make for him a recompense) in proportion to what he has done for you. Prolong his years and make his name endure forever, and grant that this stela be established firmly in the necropolis in order that his name be remembered eternally.

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[328] G. Posener, *La Premiere Domination Perse En Egypte* (1936) p. 41-46, Insc. #6.
[329] A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (1948), p. 227.

We highlight the following features of this inscription:

1) The chief boast of Ahmose is that he has spent considerable time guarding the deceased Apis, who is being kept in the "embalming hall" (W'b-t = Ouabet) awaiting burial. Unlike petitioners on other votive stela Ahmose is not at all concerned with the burial ceremony, or its concomitant rites, mentioning it only in passing. We do not understand the parenthetical introduction following the words "he says" as referring to Ahmose leading a funeral procession. He is instead describing his management of the armed guard that surrounded the Ouabet, during the time the preparatory "rites" were being conducted by the priests. This activity is otherwise unknown and unprecedented. Why the necessity of an armed guard of elite soldiers surrounding a funeral parlour? And how long did this protective surveillance last?

2) The reason for the guard seems clear from the inscription. An unusual abundance of treasure was being brought into the Ouabet, ostensibly to mummify and regale the deceased Apis. But this cannot represent the whole truth. The operation of the Serapeum was costly. Priests required an income. Labour must be paid. The construction of new vaults required greater than usual expenditure of funds. That fact alone demanded an unusual fund raising effort. Enter Ahmose, who sent far and wide, requisitioning contributions, no doubt exercising royal privilege and the threat of royal sanction. But the incoming wealth needed protecting, initially against thieves, but in the later stages perhaps also against the Persians. After Marathon Darius was in search of money to fund his war machine. The mounting treasure of the Serapeum must have been tempting for Persian officials.

3) How much time is assumed by the activities described in the Ahmose inscription? Surely time enough to organize the effort, time to send emissaries as far afield as Thebes, five hundred miles south, time for the governors to solicit, gather, and inventory the requested contributions, and time for the return journey to Memphis. A few months? A few years? If we believe Ahmose we should also allow time for his reputation to grow, for he claims that by the time the stela was inscribed, i.e. by the time of the funeral, his reputation had spread to every Egyptian and every resident foreigner, this on account of his successful efforts on behalf of the deceased bull.

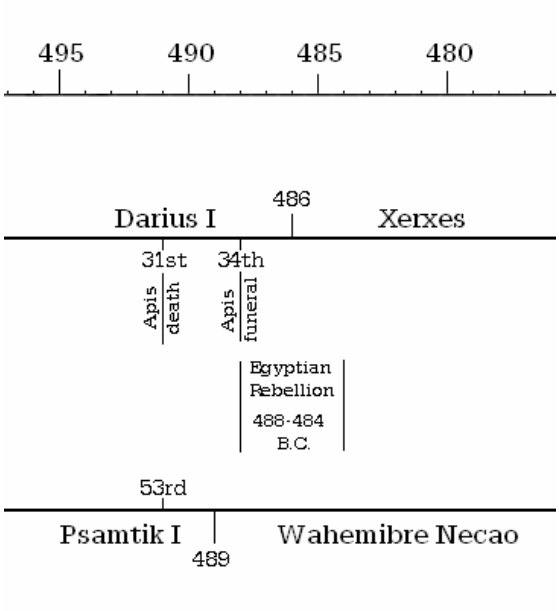
It does not require much imagination to see how the activities of Ahmose, prolonged over the better part of three years, both justify his boast and at minimum corroborate our delayed burial hypothesis. Or is it merely coincidence that this stela appears at this time in history to conveniently illustrate the uniqueness of the 34th year burial?

This concludes a lengthy digression related to the Apis bull that died in the 31st year of Darius. Our purpose was clearly stated at the outset, namely, to establish a correspondence between the 26th and 27th dynasty Apis bull records. From the gist of our argument, particularly our insistence that a single bull died in the 31st year of Darius I, and our constant repetition of the dates involved, the reader has by now picked up on the fact that the Saite dynasty bull of Psamtik's 53rd year and 27th dynasty bull deceased

in the 31st year of Darius died in same year and are undoubtedly the same bull. It was the Julian year 491 B.C.

The argument must rest at this point. In view of the lack of convincing evidence to the contrary we proceed on the assumption that there was no Apis deceased in the 34th year of Darius I.

Figure 32: Timeline - Apis Bull Deceased in the 31st Year of Darius I



Louvre #328 - 11th Year (Darius II)

The final Apis bull from the first Persian period is dated tentatively to the 11th year of Darius II. The stela attesting its existence, Louvre #328 is highly controversial and will be examined in chapter 10. Devauchelle mentions this Apis death only as a possibility (peut-etre un en l'an 11 de Darius II)[330], but those expressed doubts are not warranted. Since this bull's death does not conflict with the revised history, we have included it in tables 14 and 16 without further discussion, for later reference.

[330] D. Devauchelle, "Le sentiment anti-perse chez les anciens Egyptierns," Transeuphratene 9 (1995) p. 70. In his article "Les steles du Serapeum de Memphis conservees au musee du Louvre," EVO 17 (1994) = Acta Demotica (Acts of the fifth International Conference for Demotists), he notes that this Apis has no official stela and that "il n'est meme pas assure qu'un Apis soit mort a cette date." (p. 105).

We have now discussed all of the Apis bulls known to have died during the Persian occupation of Egypt, and have found no conflict with the Saite dynasty evidence. Our objective has been met. For the record however, we summarize in Table 15 the Serapeum data related to the Saite dynasty, accepted by a majority of scholars since the days of Breasted at the turn of the 20th century.

Table 16: Apis Bull Deaths (Saite Dynasty - Absolute Dates)

King Name	Year of Reign	Traditional Date	Revised Date
Psamtik I	20th	635 B.C.	524 B.C.
Psamtik I	53rd	612 B.C.	491 B.C.
Necao	16th	595 B.C.	474 B.C.
Apries	12th	578 B.C.	457 B.C.
Amasis	5th	566 B.C.	445 B.C.
Amasis	23rd	548 B.C.	427 B.C.

Finally, we merge the data from tables 14 and 15 into a single listing (Table 16 below), setting aside the fictional bull from the 34th year of Darius I. The result speaks for itself, but we add a few comments to highlight several features.

The Serapeum stela Louvre #193 describes the death of a bull deceased in the 16th year of Wahemibre Necao. The bull was born on the 19th day of the 6th month of the 53rd year of Psamtik I.[331] This must be the successor of the bull which died in the 31st year of Darius I (= Psamtik's 53rd year). There is therefore no conflict with the data presented earlier. If we have correctly interpreted Vercoutter's stela SIM 4039 then the death of the earlier bull occurred in the 3rd month of the 31st year of Darius I. We should not be surprised that three months passed between the death of one bull and the birth of its successor. These were trying times. Egyptologists have argued in other situations that the interlude can extend to several years.[332]

[331] For Breasted's translation see BAR IV 974-79.
[332] In fact a delay of upwards of a full year has been argued for this same bull

Table 17: Apis Bull Deaths (Dynasties 27 and 26 Compared)

King Name	Year of Reign	Absolute Date	King Name	Year of Reign	Absolute Date
Cambyses	6th	524 B.C.	Psamtik I	20th	524 B.C.
Darius I	4th?	518 B.C.?			
Darius I	31st	491 B.C	Psamtik II	53rd	491 B.C.
			Necao	16th	474 B.C.
			Apries	12th	457 B.C.
			Amasis	5th	445 B.C.
			Amasis	23rd	427 B.C.
Darius II	11th?	412 B.C.?			

While we cannot weight the year 31 synchronism too heavily in our argument - since many aspects of its defence have assumed the accuracy of the revised history it would be used to prove - the same cannot be said for the balance of the Apis record. The extensive amount of time in the Persian period during which there exists no record of the death of an Apis bull is an embarrassment to the traditional history. From the 34th year of Darius I to the 11th year of Darius II (if indeed the 11th year date is reliable), thus for at least 75 years, there is not a scrap of evidence attesting the activity of the Memphis Apis cult. On the assumption that the Apis bulls lived an average 15 years, we should reasonably have expected four bulls to have lived within that time frame. That observation has been noted by many scholars, Devauchelle most recently. His explanation is unconvincing.

> One notices the lack of evidence concerning the three or four Apis (bulls) which lived at the end of the first Persian domination; that is perhaps due to the hazards of conservation of ancient monuments.[333]

[333] D. Devauchelle, "Notes et Documents Pour Servir a l'Hisoire du Serapeum de Memphis," RdE 45 (1994) p. 77 note 4. "Il est souvent difficile de faire la distinction parmi les steles du Serapeum de Memphis de la XXVIe deynastie et celles de la XXVIIe dynastie, s'il n'y a pas une indication de

Any argument involving "chance" omissions from the monumental record is particularly weak in the case of the Serapeum monuments, where stelae have remained relatively undisturbed for several millenia till removed by Mariette and subsequent excavators. The likelihood of a continuous sequence of Apis death records haphazardly disappearing or lost in transit to France is slim to none. Therefore the fact that the Saite dynasty Apis deaths fill the gap in the Persian period sequence with the expected four bulls, after a consistent 121-year reduction in their dates, is persuasive testimony to the reliability of the revised chronology.

On this note we might well close our discussion of the overlapping reigns of Darius I and Wahemibre Necao. But we have omitted one item of interest in our discussion of the Apis bull stelae dated to the 34th year of Darius. We return to the subject briefly, focussing attention on the inscriptions. Most contain nothing more than the donor's name and family connections. But names tell a tale.

Basiliphorous & "Beautiful" Names

Basiliphorous Names

The practice of naming a child after a reigning or deceased monarch is not strictly a twentieth century practice, it is a timeless phenomenon and particularly noticeable in ancient Egypt, where the name was typically compounded with other terms, forming a so-called *basiliphorous* name. Such name are particularly abundant during the 25th Saite dynasty where we frequently encounter officials named Psamtik-sa-Neith, Psamtik-menekh, Neferibre-meri-Ptah, Wahibre-seneb, etc. employing either the throne name or the personal name of an Egyptian king, usually but not necessarily a Saite dynasty king. The king's name is frequently enclosed in a cartouche.

According to the argument advanced over a century ago by Wiedeman[334] the use of a cartouche in a private name proves that the person in question must either be a contemporary of the sovereign named or have been born under his reign. While this theory has been contested, and there are notable exceptions, the presence of a cartouche name in an inscription should at least be considered as a factor when dating a particular monument. We have already used this principle in our assessment of the genealogy of Ptahhotep discussed earlier.

Considering the prevalence of basiliphorous names in the Saite era it is rather curious to note that, in the opinion of Egyptologists, very few Egyptians chose to name their

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date."

[334] Alfred Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen* (1880) p. 622.

children after Necao Wahemibre. In fact, the claim is made that Necao was held in low esteem by his generation, a fact that needs to be explained if, according to the theory espoused in the earlier sections of this chapter, Necao was a liberator of the country. The solution to the problem comes from the Egyptologists themselves. We quote Spalinger who gives a synopsis of the situation. Speaking from the perspective of the traditional history he remarks:

> With his north-eastern frontier so constantly threatened, and with a series of defeats to his name, it is no wonder that Necho was vilified by the Egyptians themselves. Although the exact significance of this fact has eluded many, in my opinion Necho's failures abroad must account for the low esteem to which he fell at home. Not only did many private individuals change their names which had been compounded with his, but the name Necho itself was ignored until the Persian Period.[335]

In a footnote, after citing sources for the alleged abusive treatment of Necho's name, Spalinger adds as a criticism that "None of these scholars have explained the reason for such an act."[336] The silence of the scholars is understandable. As advocates of the traditional history they have no answer. In the revised chronology, with Necao correctly positioned in the Persian period, there are readily available explanations. The Persians, not the general public, were undoubtedly responsible for defacing many of the public monuments bearing the name of Necao after the suppression of the rebellion by Xerxes. The change in private name was either an accommodation to the fact that Necao's name became, in the aftermath of the rebellion, anathema to the ruling Persians, or that, in subsequent decades, Psamtik II became even more celebrated than his father. Most of the changes referred to by Spalinger are alterations of *Wahemibre* (Necao's prenomen) to *Neferibre* (Psamtik II's prenomen) in basiliphorous names. The change involves the alteration of a single hieroglyph.

Having said this, we should note that Necao's name never did fall into disuse. The admission that the name of Necho reappeared in the Persian period, a difficulty that needs to be explained in the traditional history, is tantamount to saying that it's use was never actually discontinued. Necao's reign lay entirely within the Persian period; the appearance of his name at that time is precisely what is expected.

This mention of the name of Necao in the Persian period redirects our attention back to the Serapeum stelae dated to or identified with the 34th year of Darius I. If our revision is correct, and the 34th year of Darius falls only a year after the death of Psamtik I, we expect to find either Psamtik's throne name *Wahibre* or his personal name *Psamtik* employed by individuals named in those stelae, since all of the named individuals must have been born during Psamtik's lengthy reign. As expected, various compounds of

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[335] Anthony Spalinger, "The Concept of the Monarchy during the Saite Epoch - an Essay of Synthesis," Orientalia 47 (1978) p. 20.
[336] Ibid., note 32.

Psamtik's names occur far more frequently that of any other name in the stelae. In four of these monuments both *Wahibre* and *Psamtik* occur in various compounds (Louvre #325, 394, 398, 473). Names compounded with *Wahibre* occur separately on two stelae (Louvre #324, 445) and names compounded with *Psamtik* alone on another seven (Louvre #313, 219,291,366,391, 409, 413). In total thirteen (almost a third) of these stelae include one or both of Psamtik's cartouche names.[337] Four of these monuments are clearly dated to the 34th year of Darius (Louvre #325, 291, 394, 398). Additionally, and of particular significance, one stela bears the name of *Wahibre* in a cartouche (Louvre #473) and one the name of *Psamtik* in a cartouche (Louvre 313). According to Wiedemann's theory the cartouches in these two stelae should strengthen the argument that Psamtik I ruled Egypt in the several decades before the 34th year of Darius.

What do we make of the fact that stelae erected in the 34th year of Darius I (488 B.C.), and in the years immediately following, were dedicated by persons who, according to the accepted history, lived well over a century earlier, some bearing his name in a cartouche as if he were alive at the time the name was given? According to the traditional history Psamtik I ruled Egypt from 664-610 B.C. How do Egyptologists explain the names of Wahibre Psamtik occurring in basiliphorous names on monuments dating at minimum 120 years later?

For the most part scholars simply ignore the problem or at least minimalized the difficulty by interpreting the names *Psamtik* and *Wahibre* as the personal name and throne name respectively of Psamtik II and Apries, thereby decreasing the length of time between the lives of these kings and the 34th year of Darius. And on an ad hoc basis, where the stela itself is not dated, the editorial comment by Chassinat linking the stela to Darius' 34th year is simply ignored. But not all stelae can be dismissed so lightly and on the whole it is acknowledged that the Darius' stelae look very much as if they originate from a Saite dynasty context. Thus Devauchelle comments on how "it is often difficult to make a distinction between the stelae from the Serapeum of Memphis of the 26th dynasty and those from the 27th dynasty."[338]

Beautiful Names

A few comments must suffice to discuss the phenomena of the so-called "beautiful names", several of which occur in the Darius group of stelae. In Saite dynasty Egypt a tradition developed whereby adults assumed as an epithet a new name, usually compounded with the name of a reigning sovereign, and prefaced by the hieroglyphs *rn.f nfr(.f)* (lit. his beautiful name). In the opinion of Egyptologists the tradition was used

[337] None of these names is multiple generations removed from the time when the bull's death or burial took place, as it was in the Ptahhotep stela.

[338] D. Devauchelle, "Notes et Documents Pour Servir a l"Histoire du Serapeum de Memphis (I-V)," RdE 45 (1994) p. 77, n.4

sporadically in the post-Ramesside ere, and underwent a resurgence under the Saites and the Persians. Its use is particularly noticeable under Psamtik II and Apries. The Egyptologist Herman de Meulenaere has recently documented almost eighty occurrences of this form of "Egyptian surname" from the late period.[339] A single example of this usage from the Darius year 34 collection warrants particular attention.

Stela Louvre #391 in the Darius group was erected by a religious official who bears numerous Memphite cultic titles and who refers to himself as *Khnemibre-sa-Ptah rn.f nfr Necao* (lit. Khnemibre son of Ptah whose beautiful name is Necao). He names a *Psamtik* as one of his sons. Not only does this individual have both a basiliphorous and a beautiful name, but also both the names *Khnemibre* and *Necao* are contained in separate cartouches. According to Wiedemann's theory and in keeping with the nature of each of these types of names, we should naturally understand that this official was born and named under a king Khnemibre and, as an adult living in the reign of Necao, that he adopted Necao as a beautiful name. At minimum we should understand that the "first name" should precede in time the "adoptive surname"(= beautiful name). And if Chassinat is correct in attributing this stela to Darius' 34th year, this stela uniquely corroborates the revised history, for only in that history is this situation possible. We have previously argued that there existed a king Khnemibre Arikakaman ruling in Nubia contemporary with the reign of Psamtik I in Egypt, both kings subservient to Darius and the Persians. It is no surprise therefore that a religious official, early in the reign of Darius, might name his son Khnemibre (perhaps he was Nubian). There is no problem in the fact that this Khnemibre should, decades later, adopt the personal name of Wahemibre Necao in the first year of Necao's reign (489 B.C.). Nor is it unlikely that this Khnemibre, alias Necao, would erect in the following year, Necao's 2nd, (= the 34th year of Darius) a stela that brought his family's welfare to the attention of Osiris/Ptah.[340] Absolutely nothing is out of place.

Not so if the traditional history is correct. In the first place Khnemibre must now be interpreted as the throne name of 'Ahmose-sa-Neith whose reign began in 570 B.C., twenty-five year *after* Necao's death in 595 B.C. Therefore Khnemibre-sa-Ptah must have received his "first name" several decades after he received his "beautiful name", a strange inversion of the natural order. To handle the problem conventions must be abandoned. Wiedemann's theory must be discarded entirely. This is precisely the

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[339] Herman de Meulenaere, *Le Surnom egyptien a la basse eqoque* (1966). Corrections and additions are provided in "Le Surnom Egyptien A La Basse Epoque," OLP 12 (1981) 127-134, bringing the number up to 94.

[340] Were it not for the Memphite titles we might reason that this stela resulted from the activity of general Ahmose, who specifically sent emissaries to Upper Egypt, probably as far as Elephantine, where the temple of the god Khnum was located, and where a priest might well adopt the prenomen of Khnemibre Arikakaman. Regardless, the Udjahorresne family tree discussed in chapter 10 provides evidence that the name Khnemibre was passed down in that family and was ultimately adopted by Ahmose-sa-Neith as his prenomen. This argues for the use of the name in Lower Egypt.

procedure followed by de Meulenaere when interpreting this particular stela, no.63 in his collection. Even so de Meulenaere, acknowledging the cartouche name of Necao, wants to date the stela "as soon as possible in the reign of Amasis".[341] But the problem is not restricted to an apparent inversion in the naming process. What about Chassinat's supplied date for the stela? De Meulenaere handles the problem expeditiously. He simply lists the date as "uncertain" and in a footnote adds the remark: "according to the editor 'Apis of the year XXXIV of Darius' ".

Postscript

We leave behind Darius I and Wahemibre Necao. Xerxes succeeded Darius I in the latter's 36th year, and reigned twenty years (485-465 B.C.). His first decade paralleled the last decade of Necao (489-474 B.C.). We are totally ignorant of what transpired in Egypt during those years. There is but a single curiosity confirming the synchronism of their respective reigns.

In the treasury building constructed by Darius I in Persepolis, the Persian capital, in the archives surrounding the courtyard on the east, south and north, were found the remains of the new state archive, unfortunately burned by the invading armies of Alexander the Great.

> Today, only a few charred shreds of cloth remain of the precious documents; fifteen clay bullae alone retain the impression of the seals, a few of which might be attributed to Darius or Xerxes l. But the fire that destroyed papyri and parchments also unknowingly preserved more numerous if intrinsically less important documents written on unbaked tablets, baked hard by the flames. The vast majority has been found, as they were stored, in a single oversized chamber. This new archive begins with 492.[342]

On the west side of the same courtyard, in a great columned hall, were found the remnants of what Olmstead refers to as treasures of war. As the war effort prospered the exhibition room was filled, and a second exhibition room was built, probably by Xerxes.

> To the west of the courtyard is a great room, roofed by means of nine rows of eleven columns each, which can be described only as an exhibition hall. Great masses of precious or rare objects which poured in as loot from the wars soon demanded a second addition to the treasury building, a second exhibition hall which covered virtually the whole northern face.[343]

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[341] De Meulenaere's arguments can be found on page 33. His criticism of Wiedemann's theory is restricted to footnote 6 on that page.
[342] A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (1948), p. 219
[343] Ibid.

The second exhibition hall on the northern face of the treasury had received from Alexander's army a fate similar to that of the archives. Items of obvious value had been removed and much of what remained had been destroyed.

> For the most part it is impossible to determine which of the objects preserved were first installed in this reign. So thorough was the looting by Alexander that no large-sized work of art in a precious metal has survived. The many superb vessels of stone that bear the name of Xerxes were all deliberately smashed, though fortunately a good many can be fitted together again. Of the trophies from successful wars, some come from Egypt. A creamy alabaster bowl, banded in white and light grey, bears near the small handle the cartouches of Necho. Further names of the same monarch appear on the base of a blue paste statuette. Amasis is mentioned on an alabaster vase stand and on a composite alabaster vessel.[344]

We can only speculate on what treasures from the time of Necao were originally contained in Xerxes exhibition room. What remains helps to explain, at the very least, why so few *objets d'art* have been found in Egypt from Necao's reign. We assume that Xerxes removed everything of value from the country during his invasion of 484 B.C., particularly those "trophies" bearing the name of the upstart king who had dared to rebel against his father. But the few remaining objects raise an intriguing question for the proponents of the traditional history. Since Xerxes invaded Egypt for the first time in 484 B.C., how do we explain his possession of objects, especially the fragile alabaster vase, dating from over a century earlier? According to that history Wahemibre Necao ruled Egypt from 610-595 B.C. Why would Xerxes in 484 B.C. even care to possess a statue of a foreign king long since dead and forgotten. The preservation of alabaster objects from the reign of Amasis is also a problem, since they must have been preserved for at minimum forty years and have endured, along with those of Necao, the devastation assumed to have been wrought by Cambyses.

In the following chapter we turn our attention to Xerxes' second decade and the early years of Artaxerxes I, when the spirit of rebellion, temporarily suppressed following Necao's brief flirtation with freedom, rose to an unprecedented level. It is an interesting time.

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[344] Ibid.

Chapter 9: Psamtik II & the Inaros Rebellion

Xerxes & Samtoutefnakht

Xerxes

Xerxes reigned from 486-465 B.C. The first half of his reign bode ill for Egypt. According to Herodotus, in the year after Darius died Xerxes sent an expedition against the rebels in Egypt. "Those (rebels) he subdued; and after imposing a much severer slavery on the whole of Egypt than it endured under Darius, he gave the government of Egypt to his brother, Achaemenes, son of Darius." (Her. 7.7)

The Egyptian rebellion, according to the revised history, was led by Wahemibre Necao. It's failure can be dated with some precision to the early months of 484 B.C.. Xerxes immediately proceeded with plans to conquer Greece in order to avenge his father's humiliating loss at Marathon. This time the planning was meticulous. Several years passed.

> By the autumn of 481 preparations for the expedition against Greece were complete, and all the various troops called up assembled in Cappadocia and wintered in Lydia. Every people in the Empire furnished its contingent. At the head came the Persians and Medes, armed with the lance, bow, and sword...[345]

If the land army was impressive the naval force was overwhelming, a veritable armada.

> The fleet was of the greatest importance, for the army depended on it entirely for supplies, and would have died of hunger if it had to live on the country. The 1,207 warships composing it were manned by Phoenicians, Egyptians and Greek subjects of Persia, and there were a few Persian, Median, or Sacian marines on board each. In addition to this fighting fleet there were 3,000 transports.[346]

The Persian assault on Greece in 480 B.C. is legendary. Its failure is well documented by the Greek historians. At Thermopylae a massively outnumbered Spartan force, led by Leonidas, briefly held the Persians at bay, then succumbed to treachery. The Persian army marched on toward Athens. The victory was fleeting.

> They (the Spartans) did not prevent the Persians from marching on Athens, whose citadel, with its temple of the owl-eyed Athene, was fired to avenge the burning of Sardes. Meanwhile the Persian fleet had arrived, diminished in

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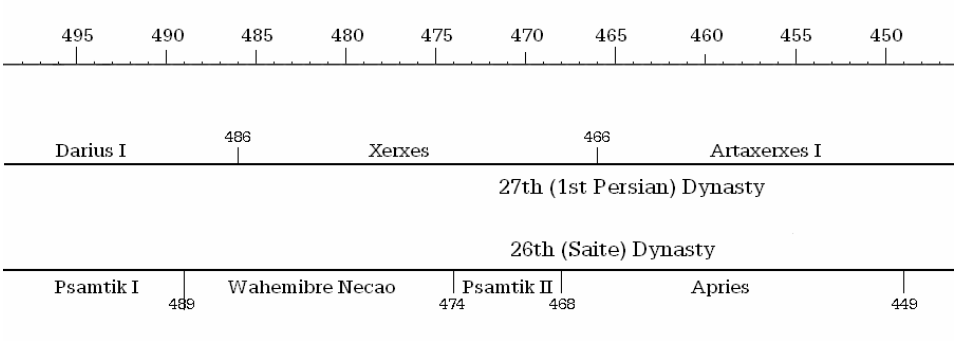
[345] Clement Huart, *Ancient Persian and Iranian Civilization* (1927), 1972 ed. Translated by M.R. Dobie, p. 61

[346] Ibid., pp. 61-62

> numbers by a storm off the coast of Asia Minor and a three days' battle near the northern point of Euboea. It met the enemy at Salamis, and Xerxes, looking on at the battle from afar, where he sat on his throne, witnessed the utter failure of his undertaking. The Great King decided to return to Asia, leaving his cousin Mardonius at the head of the army, which was stationed in Thessaly. The last force remaining on Greek soil was defeated at Plataea in the spring of 479; the death of Mardonius, killed while charging the enemy, decided the outcome of the battle. From this moment the Persians retreated, and Athens, by her successes, seized the hegemony of the sea.[347]

For the balance of his reign Xerxes attention was focussed on his eastern provinces.

Figure 33: Timeline – First Half of 5th Century B.C. (Revised History)



In Egypt Necao lived out his reign in obscurity (489-474 B.C.), no doubt grieved that the triremes he had built, and the canal he had constructed (assuming the canal was completed by Xerxes), were employed as he had feared, if not by the barbarian (Darius I) then by his son (Xerxes). Necao was succeeded by his son Psamtik II, who ruled six years (474-468 B.C.). The reign of Psamtik II lay entirely within the second half of the reign of Xerxes. His life, albeit brief, was not uneventful.

Is there any evidence of Saite dynasty involvement in the wars of Xerxes? Does inscriptional evidence exist which confirms that Psamtik II was on the throne around the beginning of the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.? And what of the documented activities of Psamtik II? Do they suit the 6th century context in which he is placed by the traditional history (595-589 B.C.) , or do they better fit the 5th century milieu provided by the revised history?

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[347] Ibid., p. 63

We postpone briefly the questions regarding Psamtik II. The Egyptian involvement in the battle of Salamis, for which we depend entirely on the Greek historians, has at least one curious, though admittedly tenuous, mention in the Egyptian monuments.

Samtoutefnakht Again.

The Petition of Petesi, examined briefly in chapter 5, documents the death of Petesi, son of Ankhsheshonk, the master of shipping in central Egypt under Psamtik I. The death occurred in Psamtik's 18th year, or 526 B.C. in the revised history. According to the Petition the master of shipping was replaced by his son Samtoutefnakht. In view of Petesi's old age, which features prominently in the narrative[348], it is more likely that Samtoutefnakht was his grandson, not his son. He was very likely a young man, possible in his late teens. The appointment of a young man to an important office is neither unprecedented nor surprising. There was, after all, a scarcity of qualified help available, as we have previously argued.

By the 9th year of Darius, the 30th year of Psamtik I (514 B.C.), Samtoutefnakht had acquired additional titles and increased status. He was by then a general, a prince, and an intimate confidant of the king. On the stela inscription describing the arrival of Psamtik's daughter Nitocris in Thebes, where she assumed sacerdotal duties as the adoptive daughter of the incumbent god's wife, we read:

> The vessels bearing her were very numerous, the crews were mighty men, and they were deeply laden [to the decks] with every good thing of the king's palace. The commander thereof was the sole companion, nomarch of Heracleopolis, commander in chief of the army, chief of the harbor, Somtous-Tefnakhte. BAR 944

What is not readily apparent in the Petition record, and only hinted at in the adoption stele inscription, is that Samtoutefnakht was an aristocrat, distantly related to a royal family. Early in the 20th century (1918) Daressy published the inscriptions from two statues of Samtoutefnakht, one recently discovered at Ehnasya, the other part of the Cairo Museum collection, apparently originating from Sais.[349] On the first statue the shipping master identifies himself as "the prince, governor, administrator of the south, Samtoutefnakht, son of the royal prince (lit. "son of the royal son) ...", an intriguing set

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[348] F. Ll. Griffith, *The Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (1909), vol. iii, p. 77-78 (5:15-19).

[349] M.G. Daressy, " Samtaui-Tafnekht," ASAE 18 (1918) 29-33. In this same article Daressy was also the first to point out that the inscriptions on large limestone building blocks from the temple of Mut in Asher, formerly dated to the reign of Piankhi, actually depict the arrival of Nitocris in Thebes in the reign of Psamtik I. Once again the shipping master Samtoutefnakht is present with titles almost identical to those on the Nitocris inscription.

of titles which unfortunately end in a lacunae (son (s') might have read daughter (s't)). On the second statue he refers to himself as "prince, governor, intimate acquaintance of the king who loves him, advisor to the king in every circumstance" and separately as "his true servant, who occupies his heart, the prince, governor, chief of personnel for the royal fleet Samtoutefnakht." The second statue bears also the cartouche names of Psamtik I.

Though only one statue bears the name of Psamtik I, Daressy is of the opinion that both belong to that king's reign and both relate to the same person.

> The titles are not the same on the two monuments but the name of the person is so infrequent that I do not think one can help believing that the statues have been made for the same Egyptian even though they originated, the one from Heracleopolis, the other probably from Sais.[350]

Scholars are unanimous in identifying the Samtoutefnakht of these statues with the shipping master mentioned in the Nitocris adoption stela and the Petition of Petesi. If so he is the (grand)son of Petesi, and (great)-grandson of Ankhsheshonk.[351]

More recently two additional statue inscriptions of the same individual have been published, one stela found near Ashmun el-Romman in 1950 and another near Balkim in 1968. Bakry, who published these finds, also reedited the inscription from a naophorous statue found in 1905 near Wagh el-Birkeh, Cairo, published early in the 20th century by Spiegelberg.[352] Many new titles emerge in these inscriptions. Samtoutefnakht is "ruler of the east", "one clad in royal linen", "controller of the palace", and "overseer of the prophets of (H)arsaphes". In all three he is a prince (rp't), a mayor (h'ty-') and the governor of the south ('imy-r rs). There are further allusions to his royal ancestry. In the el-Birkeh inscription he refers to himself as one "born of the body of the king's daughter, of his body".

Most recently K.A. Kitchen has noted the existence of at least two additional statue inscriptions wherein "Somtutefnakht claims a royal princess (s't-new n ht.f) as his mother..."[353]

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[350] Ibid. p. 30.
[351] Throughout this discussion we accept the Petition of Petesi as a reliable historical document. As we have seen already, scholars have tended to deprecate its historical worth because it conflicts seriously with the traditional history. But the problem lies with the traditional history.
[352] H.S.K. Bakry, "Two Saite Statues of Samtowetefnakhte From the Delta," Kemi 20 (1970). The Spiegelberg stela was published in an article entitled "Ein Denkmal des Admirals Semtu-tef-nakhte, ZAS 53 (1915) p. 112.
[353] K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period, 2nd* (1986) sect. 201 & n. 173.

The facts which emerge from a consideration of all documents related to Samtoutefnakht are these:

1) Samtoutefnakht was a very young man when appointed to replace Petesi, son of Ankhsheshonk, the master of shipping in Psamtik's 18th year. This follows from the Petition of Petesi. When Petesi, son of Ankhsheshonk had requested help in Psamtik's 4th year, using old age as his reason, help was denied. Instead another Petesi, son of Essemteu, a nephew of the shipping master, was appointed to relieve the work load. Clearly the shipping master's "son" was not yet old enough to succeed to the office. Since Petesi was extremely old, it is all but certain that this young man was a grandson, not a son. The use of "son" in the sense of "grandson" or even "descendent" is commonly employed in the Petition. The suggestion that he was only in his late teens will be defended later.

2) When the Ehnasya inscription refers to Samtoutefnakht as the "son of the royal prince (lit. "son of the royal son) ...", it is likely that the original reading was "son of the royal daughter". According to Daressy the inscription has a lacuna following the hieroglyph *s'* (= son) where we might expect the "t" which turns s' into s't (= daughter). The altered reading is clearly suggested by the three other stelae which identify Samtoutefnakht as "son of a king's daughter".

3) The statement that Samtoutefnakht was a "son of a king's daughter", if taken literally, would imply either that Petesi, son of Ankhsheshonk was married to this princess (if he was Samtoutefnakht's father), that he was a king himself (if he was the maternal grandfather of Samtoutefnakht), or that he was Samtoutefnakht's paternal grandfather. There are good grounds for rejecting the first two possibilities. But the phrase may only imply that Samtoutefnakht was a descendant of a king's daughter, in which case Petesi may be either a maternal or paternal grandfather.[354]

4) The royal family to which Samtoutefnakht is distantly related must be that of the 23rd dynasty king Peftjauawybast, whose dates are about 619-609 B.C. in the revised history. This king was ruling in Heracleopolis at the time of Piankhi's invasion. This hypothetical genealogy follows primarily from the strong connections with

[354] Petesi cannot have been the father of Samtoutefnackht based on chronological considerations detailed earlier. We might add to those remarks the observation that when Samtoutefnackht was proposed as the replacement for Petesi, son of AnkhSheshonk, shortly after Petesi's death, Pharaoh did not know him, though he was part of the palace household. (Petition 10:1-6) If Petesi was married to a king's daughter she must have been old as well, and her son Samtoutefnackht must have been thirty or forty years old. Surely the Pharaoh would have known an older palace functionary, especially if that person's father was Petesi and his mother a princess. The only was of explaining Pharaoh's ignorance is to assume Samtoutefnackht was a youth. The fact that Petesi was a king can be rejected outright. No such king is known to have existed and the Petesi family would surely have recorded the fact if it were true. Petesi must therefore be the paternal grandfather if the mother of Samtoutefnakht is a princess. It is more likely, however, that the connections with royalty are more remote.

Heracleopolis in all of the inscriptions of Samtoutefnakht. Even the name of Ankhsheshonk suggests connections with the 22nd/23rd dynasties. If we are correct then Samtoutefnakht is either three or four generations removed from Peftjauawybast.

It is curious that Samtoutefnakht does not mention the names of his parents on his statue inscriptions.[355] The limited space available is sufficient explanation, but another possible explanation is to be found on the one inscription of Samtoutefnakht yet to be discussed.

Stela of Naples

According to the Egyptologist Alan Gardiner:

> A stela preserved in Naples, but originally found at Pompeii, contains the 'biography' of a Samtowetefnakhte who held important priestly offices in the XVIth nome of Upper Egypt; his name and the prayers which he addresses to Arsaphes, the ram-headed deity of Heracleopolis, show him to have belonged to a family mentioned several times already.[356]

The so-called Stela of Naples, well known and much discussed by scholars, was apparently carried off from Egypt to Italy by an early Roman emperor, and erected at Pompeii to adorn the premises of the temple of Isis. Due in part to its accessibility and prominence it was one of the earliest Egyptian monuments translated following the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script. It begins by listing the titles and genealogical connections of the author:

> The devotee of Harsaphes, king of the two lands, regent of (all) lands, lord of Heracleopolis. The hereditary prince, noble lord, bearer of the seal of the king of the North, unique friend, prophet of Horus, master of Hebnou, prophet of the gods of the Onyx nome, prophet of Samtou of the mound of Hehou, mouth of the god, chief of the (sea-)shore, director of the priests of Sekhmet in all Egypt, Samtoutefnakht, son of the master of the granary (lit. of grains), prophet of Amon-Re, lord of Pershat (?), Djesamtoufankh and the mistress of the house Ankhit. He says: O Lord of the gods, Harsaphes, king of the two lands, regent of (all) lands, whose assent into the sky produces illumination for the (entire)

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[355] Kitchen (cf. note 9) says that "on no less than three statues, Somtutefnakht claims a royal princess (s't-nsw n ht.f) as his mother, one of which names her as Ta-khered-en-ta-iht-[weret]". Kitchen interprets the references literally and believes this lady to be Samtoutefnakht's mother. But if so then why did the shipping master name his mother and not his father on the inscription referred to (which, by the way, I have been unable to locate). It seems preferable to understand all the references to imply that Samtoutefnakht was a "descendent", not a "son" of this king's daughter.

[356] Alan Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs (1961), p. 373.

> land, whose right eye is the sun and whose left eye is the moon, whose soul is light and whose nostrils exhale the North wind causing everything to live.[357]

When Gardiner notes that this author belongs to "a family mentioned several times already" he refers, of course, to the family of Samtoutefnakht, the master of shipping from the early days of Psamtik I. It is Gardiner's opinion, shared by the majority of scholars, that this second Samtoutefnakht, the author of the Naples stela, lived at the end of the 4th century B.C., almost 300 years after his namesake in the traditional history. The fact that he bears the same name as his predecessor, and like his forebear is the hereditary prince (rp'(t)) and noble lord/mayor (h'ty-') in Heracleopolis are assumed to prove only a family connection between this Samtoutefnakht and the 26th dynasty noble. Both individuals call themselves "unique friend" of the pharaoh, appear to function in an administrative capacity within the palace, and have a special reverence for the god (H)arsaphes, but absolutely no consideration has ever been given to the possibility that the two individuals are one and the same person. The reason is apparent on reading the balance of the inscription. We quote Gardiner's translation:

> I am thy servant and my heart is loyal to you. I filled my heart with thee and did not cultivate any town except thy town. I refrained not from exalting it to everyone, my heart seeking after right in thy house both day and night. Thou didst unto me things better than in a million times. Thou enlargedst my steps in the palace, the heart of thy goodly god being pleased with what I said. Thou didst raise me out of millions when thou turnedst thy back to Egypt and placedst the love of me in the heart of the Prince of Asia, his courtiers thanking god for me. He made for me the post of overseer of the priests of Sakhme (i.e. as physician) in place of my mother's brother the overseer of the priests of Sakhme for Upper and Lower Egypt Nekhtheneb. Thou didst protect me in the fighting of the Greeks when thou repelledst Asia and they slew millions beside me, and none raised his arm against me. My eyes followed Thy Majesty in my sleep, thou saying to me 'Hie thee to Heracleopolis, behold I am with thee'. I traversed foreign countries alone and I crossed the sea and feared not, remembering thee. I disobeyed not what thou saidst and I reached Hieracleopolis and not a hair was taken from my head.[358]

It is admitted by scholars that this second Samtoutefnakht was elevated to power by a native pharaoh, that Egypt in his days had been overrun by a foreign country ruled by a "Prince of Asia", that Samtoutefnakht had participated in a war between this Prince of Asia and the Greeks, that he had survived the war and found his way back to Egypt. From the outset it was clear to interpreters that these circumstances in no way fit the 7th century context of Psamtik I. The Prince of Asia was identified (correctly as it turns out) as a Persian king ruling Egypt, and the search was on for an appropriate context for this

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[357] Translated from M. Tresson's "La Stele De Naples," BIFAO 30 (1930) p. 382.
[358] Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 379-80.

second Samtoutefnakht. Again we quote Gardiner:

> This narrative illustrates once again the high repute in which Egyptian physicians were held, but loses half its value because there is no certain indication of its date. Scholars have differed upon this point, Erman arguing in favour of the time of Marathon, whereas Tresson, the last editor, identifies the battle between Greeks and Persians as that won by Alexander at Gaugamela. These are extreme differences, but there are others: between them it is impossible to decide.[359]

This is not the place to review the arguments behind the divergent conclusions of Erman and Tresson. In fact both use almost precisely the same set of criteria on which to base their results. But it should be apparent by now that we favor Erman's 5th century placement. According to the German scholar Samtoutefnakht was born under Amasis around 540 B.C., was elevated to a position of authority under Darius I, fought in the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C., and returned to Egypt during the Egyptian rebellion which followed soon after (which Erman dated to the years between 486-483 B.C.)[360]

We argue instead that Samtoutefnakht was born around 542 B.C., that he became shipping master in 526 B.C. around the age of sixteen, rose in the ranks under Psamtik I and Darius I, was ultimately conscripted into the armies of Darius I and Xerxes, fought at Marathon and again at Salamis or (more likely) with Mardonius in Thessaly, and returned home across the Aegean, through Asia Minor, before finding safe passage to Egypt via the Mediterranean. All the elements essential to Erman's placement of Samtoutefnakht are present in the revised history of this time period. Not a single essential feature is missing. Erman's only problem - since he believed that Samtoutefnakht returned to a liberated country - was to find a suitable time frame where that condition prevailed. He therefore dated the return of Samtoutefnakht to the time of the first Egyptian rebellion. But there is no need to assume Persian loss of control of its Egyptian province. Following Salamis Xerxes' influence in Egypt decreased substantially. This greater independence of Psamtik II is reflected in the proliferation of his monuments. Samtoutefnakht could have returned at any time following 480 B.C.. He would have been in his early sixties. If Erman is correct, and Samtoutefnakht returned to Egypt after the battle of Marathon, the point of the argument remains unchanged. If the

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[359] Ibid., p. 380

[360] Adolf Erman, "Aus der Perserzeit," ZAS 31 (1893) (section a. "Die Stele von Neapel", pp. 91-94). Erman summarizes the key elements of the inscription as follows: 1) S. is held in high esteem by a native king; 2) God becomes angry and an Asiatic king became lord of Egypt; 3) S. became a favorite of this Asiatic king and his officials; 4) S. took part in the "war of the Greeks" in which God "repelled" the Asiatics, but happily escaped the slaughter; 5) In a dream Harsaphes of Ehnas appeared to S. and bade him return to Ehnas; and 6) "This journey in which he went through foreign lands and travelled over the sea was often very dangerous but he arrived (safely) thanks to the protection of his god." It was Erman's understanding that when Samtoutefnakht returned home a native Pharaoh was again on the throne of Egypt.

Samtoutefnakht of the Naples stela is the same as the shipping master of the Nitocris adoption stela and the Petition of Petesi, then that fact alone serves to confirm the essential accuracy of the revised history.[361]

If our argument is valid then we now know the names of the father and mother of Samtoutefnakht, the shipping master. In the Naples stela he identifies his mother as Ankhit, mistress of the house (= palace) and his father as the master of the granary, prophet of Amon-Re and lord of Pershat, Djesamtoufankh. There is no compelling reason why Ankhit could not have been a king's daughter. But it is more likely, for reasons already suggested, that she was not. The figure of Djesamtoufankh is more interesting. The fact that he was master of the granary - an important office at any time but especially so in the early stages of recovery from the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar - at least agrees with our identification of his son Samtoutefnakht as the shipping master appointed by Psamtik I. Even more interesting is his title "lord of Pershat". The toponym "Pershat" is otherwise unknown in Egyptian inscriptions. Interpreters assume that the name refers to some geographical location in the Delta, an otherwise unidentified nome. Djesamtoufankh is therefore a nomarch. But this seems unlikely. Pershat is arguably a reference to Persia and one could possibly imply from this title that Djesamtoufankh was a Persian official who has married Ankhit and adopted an Egyptian name. If so, then Petesi, son of Ankhsheshonk must be the maternal grandfather of Samtoutefnakht, since there is nothing in the Petition to suggest that Petesi was a Persian.

If Djesamtoufankh was a Persian then that fact might explain the reluctance of Samtoutefnakht to name his father on his monuments early in his career, emphasizing instead his descent from Egyptian royalty on his mother's side. Only in old age did he proudly acknowledge his roots. It is an interesting possibility but remains but one of several possible interpretations of the data.

We close this discussion by repeating the words of Gardiner, quoted earlier. The Naples inscription unfortunately "loses half its value because there is no certain indication of its date." We await the excavation of some monument which establish conclusively the genealogy of Samtoutefnakht, the master of shipping.

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[361] If the two namesakes are not the same person then this entire discussion is not entirely irrelevant. The revised history at least decreases the time span between the Samtoutefnakht I contemporary with Psamtik I and the 4th century Samtoutefnakht II. The two individuals are now separated by 121 fewer years.

A 5th Century Psamtik II

So much for Saite dynasty involvement in the wars of Xerxes. We return briefly to answer the other two questions asked earlier. Does inscriptional evidence exist which confirms that Psamtik II was on the throne around the beginning of the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.? And what of the documented activities of Psamtik II? Do they suit the 6th century context in which he is placed by the traditional history (595-589 B.C.) , or do they better fit the 5th century milieu provided by the revised history? Here we examine a single documentary source related to the first question, the Diospolis Parva documents. We also mention in passing, in response to the second question, the lone reference to Psamtik II in the Saite History of the pseudo-Herodotus The second question also finds an answer, albeit indirectly, in the sections that follow, in our discussion of the offspring of this short reigned but long lived king.

The Meeting in Khor

There is no conflict between the few documented activities of Psamtik II and the 5th century Persian context assigned to him in the revised history. Herodotus has almost nothing to say about this king, crediting his reign with but a single activity.

> Psammis reigned over Egypt for six years only; he invaded Ethiopia, and immediately thereafter died, and Apries his son reigned in his stead. (Her. II 161)

This expedition to Nubia is well documented, illustrating once again the general reliability of the sources used by the Pseudo Herodotus to compose his Saite History. The expedition took place in Psamtik's 3rd year and its success was broadcast to the nation on a series of large stela discovered at Karnak and Shellal.[362] Testimony is also afforded by graffiti left by the leaders of the army at Abu Simbal. We assume that the invasion was sanctioned by Xerxes, possibly in response to the withholding of tribute by the Nubian kings. We recall from chapter seven the boast of Xerxes to suzerainty over Nubia and the claim by Herodotus (Her. VII 69) that the Ethiopians sent a contingent to the armies of Xerxes. The loss of Nubia would not be tolerated.

The Petition of Petesi mentions as well that in the 4th year of Psamtik II priests from nomes throughout Egypt were summoned to a meeting in Khor (Palestine) for some unspecified reason.

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[362] Cf. the articles by Serge Sauneron and Jean Yoyotte, "La Campagne Nubienne De Psammetique II et sa Signification Historique," BIFAO 50 (1952) pp. 157-207, and H.S.K. Bakry, "Psammetichus II and His Newly-Found Stela at Shellal," JAOS 6 (1967) pp. 225-244 & plates.

> And in the 4th year of Per'o Psammetk Nefrebre messages were sent to the great temples of Upper and Lower Egypt, saying, 'Per'o goeth to the land of Khor: let the priests come with the bouquets (?) of the gods of Kemi to take them to the land of Khor with Per'o.' And a message was sent to Teuzoi, saying, 'Let a priest come with the bouquet of Amun to go to the land of Khor with Per'o.' And the priests assembled and agreed in saying to Peteesi son of Essemteu, 'Thou art he that art meet to go to the land of Khor with Per'o: there is no man [here] in this city who can go to the land of Khor except thee. Behold, thou art a scribe of the House of Life: there is not a thing that they shall ask thee to which there is not a suitable answer (?) For thou art the prophet of Amun, and the prophets of the great gods of Kemi are they who are going to the land of Khor with Per'o.' Petititon 14:16-22

It is apparent that Petesi is being summoned to represent the affairs of Teuzoi at a meeting in Palestine, attended by the pharaoh himself and priests from throughout Egypt. While such a meeting can be explained in a Persian context, where the satrap, stationed in Khor, is conducting business related to taxation of the Egyptian province, such an event is absolutely out of place in the early 6th century context occupied by Psamtik II in the traditional history. His 4th year in that history is 592 B.C.. At that time Zedekiah ruled Palestine as a vassal of Nebuchadrezzar. There is no rational explanation for a visit then by Egyptian authorities. Either the Petition is in error or Psamtik II does not belong in that time frame.

The Diospolis Parva Documents

According to the traditional history, based largely on Herodotus, the Saite Dynasty ended in 525 B.C. when Cambyses arrived in Egypt and defeated the Egyptian army of Psamtik III at Pelusium in the eastern Delta. Psamtik escaped the battle and retreated to Memphis which very quickly fell to the Persians. The captive Psamtik soon lost his life. It is further claimed that Psamtik's father Ahmose-sa-Neith had died of natural causes late in 526 B.C. and that his son, who adopted the throne name Ankhkanre, ruled Egypt for only six months. According to the Saite dynasty practice of predating, the balance of Ahmose's final year was counted as Psamtik's 1st regnal year, and the few months he reigned in 525 B.C. constituted a second year. It is therefore not surprising to Egyptologists that documents dated to this Psamtik's second year should be discovered.

Since the beginning of the 20th century it has been claimed by scholars that three demotic papyri, P. Loeb 41 & 43 and P. Strassburg 2, all dated in the 1st or 2nd year of a king Psamtik, belong to this abbreviated reign of Psamtik III. These three papyri are part of a group referred to collectively as the Diospolis Parva documents.

> In 1902 Spiegelberg published three early demotic texts from the Strasbourg papyrus collection: P. Strasb. 2,4,5. These texts clearly belong together because

> they deal with goose-herds of the temple of Amun, living in that part of the domain of Amun which is situated in the district of Diospolis Parva .... Some thirty years later, Spiegelberg published a group of demotic papyri from the papyrus collection of Munchen. Of these papyri, the early-demotic P. Loeb 41 and 43-50 (and perhaps also P. Loeb 51 ... have so many similarities to the Strasbourg papyri that it has been suggested that all these papyri were found on the same spot and actually belong together, mainly because goose-herds of the temple of Amun frequently occur in both groups of text.[363]

The majority of the dated Diospolis Parva documents originate from the latter part of the reign of Darius I. Several of them (P. Loeb 46,47,48 and P. Strassburg 4,5) are specifically dated to that king's 34th and 35th years (488 & 487 B.C.). The three papyri bearing Psamtik's name are thus almost four decades earlier than the balance of the collection. For the better part of the last century the attribution of these three documents remained unchallenged. These three papyri are constantly cited in secondary literature as the only known demotic documents dating from the reign of Psamtik III. That situation changed abruptly in 1980 when the American Egyptologist Eugene Cruz-Uribe speculated on the possibility of an alternative identification for two of the documents. P. Loeb 43 might still belong to the reign of Psamtik III, since it bears similarities to documents from the late Saite or early Persian period, but not the other two papyri.[364]

According to Cruz-Uribe, P. Loeb 41, for palaeographic reasons, should be dated instead to the reign of Psamtik II (or possibly even Psamtik I). In particular he noted similarities between P. Loeb 41 and the demotic papyrus P. Berlin 13571, a document clearly dated to the 5th year of a king Psamtik, especially in its writing of the king's name. Since Psamtik III did not live past his second year, the Berlin papyrus is generally credited to the reign of Psamtik II, and thus also P. Loeb 41 in the estimation of Cruz-Uribe.

It is in his identification of the Psamtik named in P. Strassbourg 2 that Cruz-Uribe broke radically with tradition. Noting similarities between this papyrus and P. Strassbourg 5, a papyrus bearing the year date "34th year of Darius (I)", he reached the conclusion that the Psamtik document must be dated very soon after Darius' 34th year. His analysis begins by noting palaeographical similarities between the two documents and then proceeds to argue on the basis of the internal content:

> Another factor which suggests a close affinity between P. Strassburg 2 and 5 is the content of the documents. In both contracts Party A is "the Goose Herder of the Estate of Amun, "P'-ti-Imn-sm'-t'wy, son of P'-whr". Griffith in his inventory of early demotic documents states that since P'-ti-Imn-sm'-t'wy is seen in both documents, he must have had a career as goose herder which

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[363] P.W. Pestman, "The Diospolis Parva Documents, Chronological Problems concerning Psammeticus III & IV," in J. Thissens/Th. Zauzich eds. *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift fur Erich Luddeckens zum 15 Juni 1983*, p. 145

[364] E. Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," Serapis 5/2 (1980) pp 35-37.

> spanned at least 40 years. This fact, while not impossible, is suspicious since unmentioned by Griffith is the fact that the man who received the payment in each document is one D-hr. That we have the same two parties in two documents separated by forty years makes this author feel uncomfortable. If on the other hand, one takes into consideration all the similarities between P. Strassburg 2 and the documents dated to the latter part of the reign of Darius I, we may date P. Strassburg 2 on paleographic grounds to sometime soon after the reign of Darius I. In this manner the paleographical and contextual difficulties would be lessened.[365]

According to Cruz-Uribe the only possible time when a king Psamtik might have reigned in the years "soon after the reign of Darius I" was the brief duration of the Egyptian rebellion which began late in Darius' reign and was subdued by Xerxes in 484 B.C. He proposes therefore that this rebellion was led by a king Psamtik, and since this Psamtik postdates the reign of Psamtik III by forty years, he is numbered as Psamtik IV. "On the basis of the evidence I would conclude that a Pharaoh Psammetichus IV did exist and ruled Egypt following a revolt against the Persians in 486 BC and ruled until the reconquest of Egypt by Xerxes in January of 484 BC".

A new pharaoh is born!

In a later responsive article, the demotic specialist P.W. Pestman expanded on the analysis of Cruz-Uribe, essentially agreeing with his conclusions, though disagreeing with some of his palaeographical arguments. Pestman differs from Cruz-Uribe in only one significant point - he not only dates P. Strassburg 2 within the reign of the hypothetical Psamik IV, but P. Loeb 41 and P. Loeb 43 as well.

> Summing up, we may state that although it is not entirely impossible that the Psammetichus documents were written under Psammetichus III in 525 B.C., it is much more likely that they were written in the same period as the Darius documents. In this case we must accept, with Cruz-Uribe, the existence of a Psammetichus IV.[366]

In the revised history Psamtik II "ruled" Egypt from 474-468 B.C. His first and second years are only a dozen years removed from the dates assumed by Cruz-Uribe and Pestman for their Psamtik IV. There can be no objection to dating the three critical Diospolis Parva papyri to this slightly later date. We argue that Psamtik IV does not exist. His assumed existence is a case of mistaken identity, forced on the two named scholars by the errant placement of the Saite dynasty in the traditional history. With the dates for the Saite dynasty lowered by 121 years Psamtik II emerges naturally as the solution to the dilemma posed by the papyri P. Loeb 41, 43 and P. Strassburg 2. Already in his analysis Cruz Uribe had correctly compared P. Loeb 41 with P. Berlin 13571,

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[365] Ibid., p. 37
[366] Op.cit., p. 146.

dated to the 5th year of Psamtik II. He was not wrong; it does belong in that king's reign. Neither was Pestman wrong when he dated that same document to the reign of Psamtik IV. It is the Saite dynasty dates which continue to confound the scholars. With the equation Psamtik IV = Psamtik II the problem is solved.

It is important to note, before we leave the goose-herders behind, that this removal of P.Loeb 41, 43 and P. Strassburg 2 from the list of documents attesting the reign of Psamtik III leaves precious little documentation for that king, and almost nothing which connects him with the end of the reign of Ahmose-sa-Neith. The only remaining link with those years is about to be severed.

We now turn our attention to several of the sons and daughters of this same Psamtik II. Everything which connects them to the 5th century confirms the revised dating of their father.

As we will soon see, they are interesting in their own right.

Ankhnesneferibre & Psamtik III

In the first year of his reign Psamtik II followed the example of his grandfather Psamtik I and installed his daughter as the adoptive daughter of the incumbent god's wife in Thebes. Surprisingly, the current god's wife was none other than Nitocris, the daughter of Psamtik I, still alive and active since her initiation in the 9th year of her father (or the 9th year of Darius as we have argued earlier). Ten years later, in the 4th year of Apries, Nitocris died and Ankhnesneferibre was enthroned as the god's wife. These facts derive from the inscription on an alabaster statue discovered in 1904 by Legrain as part of the famous Karnak cache in Thebes. The relevant portion of the text states:

> Year 1, third month of Shomu, day 29 under the majesty of the Horus Menekh-ib, the Two Ladies User-aa, the Horus of God Snefer-tawy, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferibre, the son of Re Psammetichus, given life. On this day arrival of the king's daughter Ankhnesneferibre in Thebes. Her mother, the god's wife Nitocris, may she live, 'came forth' to see her beauty. They went together to the temple of Amun. Then there was brought the diving image (?) from the temple of Amun to the place where they were (?) in order to make her titulary as follows: great songstress of the residence of Amun, the one who carries the flowers in the chapel, chief of the enclosure of Amun, first prophet of Amun, king's daughter Ankhnesneferibre. She met her father, Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost in Karnak. Year 7, first month of Akhet, day 23. This god, the good god, lord of the two lands, Psammetichus went to the sky, he was united with the sun disk, the limbs of the god being

> merged with him who created him. Then his son was caused to appear on his throne, the Horus Wah-ib, the Two Ladies Neb-khepesh, the Horus of Gold, Sewadjtawy, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Haaibre, the son of Re, Wahibre, may he live. Year 4, fourth month of Shomu, day 4 of this king. The god's wife Nitocris, justified, went to the sky, she was united with the sun disk, the limbs of the god (i.e. Nitocris) being merged with him who made her. Her daughter, the first prophet Ankhnesneferibre, did for her everything which is done for every beneficent king. ... There was made her titulary as noblewoman, great of kindness, great of praises, lady of grace, sweet of love, mistress of all women, "god's wife", divine adoratress Heqat-neferu-mut, hand of the god Ankhnesneferibre, may she live, king's daughter of the lord of the two lands Psammetichus.[367]

In the traditional history Psamtik II reigned from 595-589 B.C. Haaibre Wahibre (Apries), his son and successor, reigned from 589-570 B.C.. According to this inscription therefore, Ankhnesneferibre was adopted as the heir apparent to Nitocris in 595 B.C. (1st year of Psamtik II) and became the god's wife herself when Nitocris died in 586 B.C. (4th year of Apries). Three problems immediately surface when these dates are considered. The first two deserve mention in view of their connection with matters previously considered. The third brings into view again the person of Psamtik III.

The Titularies of Ankhnesneferibre & Psamtik II

It is important to note that the new god's wife, in addition to titles descriptive of her religious and political offices, - great songstress of the residence of Amun, the one who carries the flowers in the chapel, chief of the enclosure of Amun, first prophet of Amun - assumed as well a number of epithets - noblewoman, great of kindness, great of praises, lady of grace, sweet of love, mistress of all women, god's wife - and a "prenomen" *Heqat-neferu-mut* to accompany her "nomen" *Ankhnesneferibre*. Both names are written in cartouches. It is clear from the inscription that this employment of a double cartouche, a convention typically restricted to the reigning monarch, intends to communicate her usurpation of royal powers. But Ankhnesneferibre is supposedly a princess and a god's wife, not a queen. She is clearly breaking with tradition, apparently deliberately. Earlier in the stela, when she records her personal name, only the Neferibre portion is contained in a cartouche. At the end, with the addition of the second cartouche name, the entire nomen is encircled. The Egyptologist Anthony Leahy, the most recent interpreter of the monument, notes how "Significantly, at this point in the text, her whole name - and not just her father's component of it - was for the first time written in a cartouche, thus completing her transference to regal status."[368]

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[367] We use the translation provided by Anthony Leahy, "The Adoption of Ankhnesneferibre at Karnak," JEA 82 (1996) pp. 148-49.
[368] Ibid., p. 159.

We notice as well a second anomaly related to the name of the new god's wife. According to the inscription, Psamtik's daughter bore the name Ankhnesneferibre when she was given up for adoption in her father's first year. But the name is basiliphorous, incorporating Psamtik's prenomen *Neferibre,* a name which the new king had only just received as his throne name. If convention has been followed in the naming process then one of two possible explanations must prevail. Either a) Ankhnesneferibre was born the same year she was given up for adoption to Nitocris (i.e. she was an infant) or b) she possessed an entirely different birth name and was given the new name Ankhnesneferibre only after the coronation of her father, only months before her journey to Thebes as the adoptive daughter of Nitocris. Leahy seriously considered both possibilities before siding with the second explanation. But a straightforward reading of the text gives no support to either alternative. It is clearly a problem for the traditional history.

We propose a third explanation, namely, that the original name of Psamtik II was Neferibre, not Psamtik. The assumption that the king's "prenomen", a name typically prefixed by the hieroglyphs translated "king of Upper and Lower Egypt" (the so-called *nsw bity* formula), was necessarily the king's throne name, is based on precedents established in the days of the national pharaohs. Such conventional niceties were not necessarily followed by the Saite kings. In the Ankhnesneferibre stele itself there is supportive evidence for this conjecture.

We have observed that Ankhnesneferibre felt no qualms about adopting the dual cartouches of royalty, to a degree a break with convention. But there is even more compelling evidence from the stele that our explanation is reasonable. In the incised area above the inscription are several scenes of note. The one on the upper left depicts a king Wahibre facing the gods Amun and Mut. Above the king is the inscription "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Wahibre*". Since the stela was erected in the reign of Haaibre Wahibre (Apries) we can safely assume that Apries is the king portrayed in the scene. Leahy agrees. But Wahibre is the nomen, not the prenomen of Apries. It is his personal name.

If the *nsw bity* hieroglyphs can prefix a king's birth name once, especially in so prominent a position on such an important public monument, then there can be no argument with the proposal that these hieroglyphs may introduce the original name of Psamtik II. That fact would serve to explain at least one other widely observed anomaly connected with the reign of Psamtik II, namely, the relative abundance of inscriptions bearing his name. Given that Psamtik II reigned only slightly less than six years, it is surprising to scholars that there are more documents bearing the name "Neferibre",. either singly or in basiliphorous compounds, than the combined documents attesting the 54 year reign of Psamtik I and the 16 year reign of Necao Wahemibre. The problem is solved if we assume that Psamtik II bore the name Neferibre (in a cartouche) while still a prince functioning in some administrative or military capacity under Necao and even under Psamtik I. We can assume he was not a youth when he took office. His

grandfather Psamtik I was born - according to the revised history - before the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar in 564 B.C.., thus around 570 B.C. as we assumed in an earlier argument. Assuming twenty-five years for a generation, we might tentatively date Necao's birth in c.a. 545 B.C. and Neferibre's birth in c.a. 520 B.C. Neferibre the prince would then be politically active from c.a. 494-474 B.C., through the tumultuous last years of Psamtik I, the Egyptian rebellion of 488-484 B.C., the years of Xerxes battles with Greece and the final decade of Necao's life. He may well have become a national hero through his exploits during those years. Thus his prominence in the monuments.

Ankhnesneferibre was likely born around 494 B.C., was named after her father, and was around twenty years of age in 474 B.C. when Psamtik became king and sent her to Thebes as the adoptive daughter of Nitocris. There is no need to question the origins of the name Ankhnesneferibre. She had borne the name since birth several decades before her father became king.

This mention of Nitocris brings to mind the second major problem with the dates on the Ankhnesneferibre enthronement stela.

The Aged Nitocris

In the traditional history Nitocris became the adoptive daughter of Shepenwepet II in the 9th year of Psamtik I, 656 B.C. She died in office in the 4th year of Apries, 586 B.C. When scholars note the fact that she served the god Amon either as adoptive daughter or as the god's wife for a total of 70 years they are impressed, but not stupefied. After all, they say, she was the daughter of Psamtik I who ruled Egypt for 54 years. She came by her longevity naturally.

But there is a vast difference between 54 years and 70 years. To be fair to the scholars, they have clearly felt uncomfortable about the situation. Were that not the case we would not continually read claims that Nitocris was in her early teens, or perhaps still in puberty, when taken to Thebes by Psamtik I. The image of a 90 year old functioning god's wife is just too difficult to imagine.

There is no need to dwell on this problem. A solution has already been proposed. Although the revised history lowered Saite dynasty dates by a uniform 121 years, leaving unchanged the time span between the 9th year of Psamtik I (now 535 B.C.) and the 4th year of Apries (now 465 B.C.) we have previously suggested that the 9th year of Psamtik in the Nitocris Adoption stela should be read as the 9th year of Darius I (513 B.C.). The suggestion was not critical to the argument of this revision; it served only to answer a criticism concerning the integrity of the Petesi family records.[369] But the

[369] The argument regarding Samtoutefnakht also depends to some extent on the later dating of the Nitocris adoption stela. If that stela is dated in the 9th year of Psamtik I (535 B.C.) then the

proposal also solves this second problem. If Nitocris began her career in 513 B.C. and died in 465 B.C. then her term of office reduces from 70 years to 48 years, admittedly still a lengthy tenure in office, but a far more palatable number.

Which brings us to our final problem with the Ankhnesneferibre inscription, this time with *her* lengthy tenure in office.

The Aged Ankhnesneferibre

The incised area above the inscription on the Ankhnesneferibre monument contains a second scene in addition to that of Wahibre honoring the gods Amun and Mut. Again we quote Leahy:

> On the right, the god's wife Ankhnesneferibre, wearing the characteristic two-feathered crown, uraeus and a voluminous garment, shakes sistra before Amun and Khonsu. Behind her is a slightly smaller figure, in short kilt and diaphanous longer overskirt, acting as fanbearer and identified as her chief steward Sheshonq.[370]

Since the stela commemorates the initiation of Ankhnesneferibre in the 4th year of Apries (465 B.C.) it must date from that year or at most a few year later. This is also the year of Xerxes death and the beginning of a second Egyptian rebellion against Persia. We are therefore not surprised to see Psamtik's daughter assuming royal status in competition with her brother Apries. As we will soon see, she is likely not the only sibling of Psamtik II contesting for power. But our concern here is with her lengthy tenure, not with her political status.

When the Ankhnesneferibre statue was discovered in 1904 it immediately raised questions, for the god's wife was already a well recognized figure. Several decades earlier Mariette had conducted an extensive survey of the temples at Karnak. Included among the scenes published from the small temple situated north of the hypostyle hall of Amun's temple (Mariette's temple J) were several depictions of the god's wife Ankhnesneferibre in close association with a king Ankhkanre Psamtik. In these scenes the god's wife is pictured as a young woman followed by the diminutive figure of her chief steward (*mr pr wr*) Sheshonk.

The identity of Ankhkanre was immediately recognized by Mariette, based on the combined testimony of Herodotus (who supplied the historical context) and

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shipping master must have been born around 551 B.C. which would make him 61 years old during the battle of Marathon, not an impossibility, but certainly less likely. Several other aspects of the argument would have to change, including the likelihood that Djesamtoufankh was Persian.

[370] Op.cit., p. 147.

Udjahorresne (who supplied the king's prenomen). The inscriptions, Mariette reasoned, must date to the year 525 B.C.. The young king Psamtik had only ruled for six months. His dates were certain.

At the time of that initial publication Mariette possessed no genealogical information related to the god's wife Ankhnesneferibre. Only after Legrain's discovery of the enthronement stela in 1904 was it revealed that she was the daughter of Psamtik II and that she had assumed office in her father's 1st year, 595 B.C.. In an article published subsequent to Legrain's discovery Mariette remarked:

> We find Ankhnasnofiribri still living under Psamtik III, more than seventy years after she arrived in Thebes in the 1st year of Psamtik II. In taking princesses very young one was able to prepare them more readily for their role, and one had the (increased) likelihood of avoiding frequent changes.[371]

It appeared to be of no consequence to Mariette that Ankhnesneferibre was depicted in the Karnak temple scene as the same *young woman* who appeared on Legrain's statue, and that she was followed by what appears to be the same diminutive high steward Sheshonk as was the case sixty years earlier. If Mariette was concerned about the similarities he said nothing. After all, the stela was clearly dated and the dates of Ankhkanre Psamtik were likewise unimpeachable. All that scholars could do was attempt to explain the situation.

The same year that Legrain discovered the Ankhnesneferibre monument he also came across another important inscription, this time a door portal originating from the chapel of Osiris Pameres in Karnak. A scene inscribed on the door frontal pictured Ankhkanre Psamtik and Ankhnesneferibre in adjoining panels, to the left Ankhkanre Psamtik in front of Amon and Tafnut, and to the right Ankhnesneferibre shaking her sistrum before Amon and Khonsu. She is followed by the high steward "Sheshonk, son of the steward of the divine adoratress, Pedineit". The Osiris chapel inscription is clearly contemporary with that from Mariette's Karnak temple J. Legrain has nothing to add to the comments of Mariette regarding Ankhnesneferibre's extreme longevity. His remarks center instead on the steward Sheshonk, questioning his relationship to the god's wife and noting that this steward, visible in the enthronement stela in 586 B.C. and on the Karnak and Osiris chapel inscriptions of 525 B.C., must have experienced the same remarkable long life as his mistress. "The temple J (inscription) and that of Osiris Pameres show him to us in the same role more than sixty years later."[372]

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[371] Auguste Mariette, "Deux monuments de la princesse Ankhnasnofiribri," ASAE 4 (1904) pp. 88-89. "Nous retrouvons en effet Ankhnasnofiribri encore vivante sous Psammetique III, plus de soixante-dix ans apres qu'elle arriva a Thebes, en l'an I de Psammetique II. En prenant les princesses fort jeunes on pouvait les dresser plus aisement a leur role, et on avait la probabilite d'eviter des changements trop frequents."

[372] M. Georges Legrain, "Notes D'Inspection," ASAE (1905) p. 132.

Very little has changed since the discoveries of Legrain which began the 20th century. In the middle of the last century a proposal was made that the Sheshonks at either end of the tenure of Ankhnesneferibre were different, the first being a son of Harsiese, the second a son of Pedineit.[373] Even assuming the validity of that questionable proposal, the fundamental problem - the lengthy tenure of Ankhnesneferibre - remains. Speculation abounds concerning the age of Psamtik's daughter when she was adopted by Nitocris. As was the case with Nitocris, scholars have attempted to reduce as much as possible her age at the time of her adoption. We have already noted how Leahy even considered the possibility that she was brought to Thebes while less than a year old. That proposal was not simply an attempt to explain her basiliphorous name, and it underscores the perceived difficulty with the extreme longevity of the god's wife. Scholars clearly sense the problem of the Karnak and Osiris temple inscriptions, though they seem reluctant to articulate their thoughts.

If Ankhnesneferibre was a young woman when she was adopted by Nitocris in 595 B.C. then she must have been around ninety years old in the days of Psamtik III in 525 B.C. (and she is still, apparently, alive and active). It seems fair to enquire as to the precise relationship which held between this ninety year old god's wife and Ankhkanre Psamtik?. A king and his wife, or a king and his sister, often appear in concert with one another on Egyptian monuments, but not a young king and some ninety year old distant relative, whom the artisan has decided to portray as a twenty year old woman. We recall that Psamtik III in the traditional history is the son of Ahmose-sa-Neith who is an interloper. The family of Psamtik II and the family of Amasis are at most distantly related. What possible reason would prompt this young king, during his brief six months of reign, with the Persian Empire on his doorstep threatening to overrun his kingdom, to have his artisans portray him hand in hand (so to speak) with the elderly god's wife on the walls of Theban temples? We should either question the sanity of Psamtik III or the interpretation of the scholars. We adopt the second alternative.

Enough is enough. Ankhnesneferibre did not live to the ripe old age of ninety and counting. The inscriptions on the walls of the Theban temples were made at most several decades after the enthronement of the god's wife, and probably much less, possibly only a few years later. That would be the natural interpretation of these monuments had it not been for the misinterpretation of the Udjahorresne inscription and the faulty history of the Pseudo-Herodotus which resulted in the mistaken belief that this king Ankhkanre Psamtik succeeded Ahmose-sa-Neith and was therefore his son.

The Sheshonk in all these inscriptions is the son of Pedineit (Sheshonk B). The other high steward, Sheshonk, son of Harsiese (Sheshonk A), either held office early in the reign of Psamtik I, as argued by Miriam Lichtheim[374], or late in the reign of Amasis. It

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[373] Louis-A. Christophe, "Les Trois Derniers Grands Majordomes De La XXVI'e Dynastie," ASAE 54 (1957) 83-100.
[374] Miriam Lichtheim, "The High Steward Akhamenru," JNES 7 (1948) p. 166.

has been recognized for some time that a daughter of Amasis named Nitocris became the adoptive daughter of Ankhnesneferibre in Amasis' first year. The probability is great that she succeeded Ankhnesneferibre when the god's wife died, probably mid-way in Amasis' reign. If so, and if our earlier reasoning concerning her date of birth is correct, the life of Ankhnesneferibre spanned the years c.a. 494-427 B.C. She was therefore around 67 years old when she died. Scholars should re-examine the relevant inscriptions of the high stewards, relieved of the necessity of maintaining the fiction of Ankhnesneferibre's long life, in order to establish the time of Sheshonk, son of Harsiese. The problem in its entirety is a by-product of the errant traditional history which insists on identifying Ankhkanre Psamtik as the son of Ahmose-sa-Neith and dating his reign to the year 525 B.C.

But if Ankhkanre Psamtik is not the successor of Ahmose-sa-Neith, then who is he?

Psamtik III

There is not a single inscription which records the genealogical connections of Ankhkanre Psamtik. There does exist a Serapeum stela (IM 4034), edited by Vercoutter[375], erected by a Psamtik, son of a king Khnemibre, the latter apparently alive at the time the inscription was made. The stela is often cited as one of the few inscriptions bearing the name of Psamtik III. But this text proves nothing. Assuming that this king Khnemibre is Ahmose-sa-Neith, there is no indication that his son Psamtik ever became a king. As we have already seen, the name Psamtik is ubiquitous in the Saite/Persian dynasty. That Ahmose had a son by that name is hardly surprising. But the son's name in IM 4034 is not enclosed in a cartouche. There is absolutely nothing in that document indicating that he succeeded his father and nothing to suggest his identification with Ankhkanre Psamtik.

In our earlier reassessment of the only three demotic documents ascribed by scholars to the hypothetical Psamtik III, we concluded that they belong to the reign of Psamtik II. The Serapeum stela IM 4034 and the Karnak temple inscriptions, as we have just argued, do not prove that Ankhkanre lived after Ahmose-sa-Neith; scholars assume that fact as the basis for their interpretation. The name of Ankhkanre Psamtik is otherwise attested on only a few scattered artifacts and statue fragments. None of these provide any chronological information. How then do we assign dates to this enigmatic king?

Our only clue to the dates of Ankhkanre Psamtik comes from the Karnak and Osiris temple inscriptions. They picture a young man the same age as Ankhnesneferibre and of equal rank. If he was a king he must have reigned sometime shortly after 465 B.C., during a second Egyptian rebellion which we will examine momentarily. He may well have been another son of Psamtik II. If so then Ankhnesneferibre was his sister. She may

[375] Jean Vercoutter, *Textes Biographiques du Serapeum de Memphis* (1962), pp 37-43 (Texte E)

also be his wife.

Twentieth century Egyptologists are of the opinion that the god's wives remained celibate throughout their tenure in office. Nineteenth century Egyptologists believed otherwise, frequently identifying the spouse of the divine adoratress on an ad hoc basis. We will not engage that debate. There is no need. We have already noted that Ankhnesneferibre was not a typical god's wife. Scholars often remark on how she was the first to adopt, while still an heiress, the office of high priest. We have observed how her titulary reveals political aspirations quite atypical for a god's wife. And finally, we have pointed out that her enthronement coincided with the outbreak of a second and prolonged Egyptian rebellion against Persian rule. It should not surprise anyone that the god's wife, soon after her enthronement, during the initial stages of the rebellion, should marry and share power with her husband Psamtik. Nor should we be alarmed that Psamtik, whether or not married to Ankhnesneferibre, and whether or not from the royal line, claimed the status of a king in the vicinity of Thebes while the revolt of Inaros escalated in the north.[376] As to the genealogical connections of Ankhkanre Psamtik we can only speculate. At least two participants in the decades long rebellion that followed the death of Psamtik II were sons of that king. That yet another son should exercise limited rule in Thebes is not entirely out of the question.

So much for Psamtik II, his daughter Ankhnesneferibre, and the problematic Ankhkanre Psamtik. It is time to examine the lives of other descendants of the Saite dynasty king. In particular our attention is drawn to Apries, his successor on the throne, and to another son thus far ignored.

Inaros & His Contemporaries

The Rebellion

Xerxes died in 466 B.C., assassinated in his bedchamber by a group of conspirators. A

[376] It is certainly possible that Psamtik was not the spouse of Ankhnesneferibe. He may have been her replacement as high priest, since she is known to have abandoned that title upon becoming god's wife. The mere presence of a double cartouche does not indicate that this Psamtik "ruled" in Upper Egypt in the typical sense of that word. The case of Herihor, the high priest of Amun under Ramses XI in the 20th dynasty, is a case in point. He was merely the high priest of Amun but he assumed a full titulary including Horus, Nebty, and Golden Horus names. Yet he died before the reign of Ramses XI ended. As Gardiner explains "So long as Ramesses XI lived it was he who was referred to as the Pharaoh. Within the precincts of the great temple of Karnak Hrihor might certainly flaunt a royal titulary, even if he could there find for himself no more imposing a Prenomen as "First prophet of Amun' " (Egypt of the Pharaohs p. 305.) It is interesting to notice that the cartouche names of Ankhanre Psamtik, other than those found on a few portable artifacts, are not found outside the relative seclusion of the Amun temple complex in Thebes.

struggle for power ensued in the Persian capital. Darius, the eldest son of Xerxes and legitimate heir, ruled briefly but was slain by his 18 year old brother Artaxerxes who proceeded to solidify his hold on power and ultimately ruled Persia for a remarkable 41 years (465-424 B.C.) For the duration of his lengthy reign Artaxerxes held a firm grip on the Empire he inherited. The only noteworthy exception was Egypt.

Psamtik II died in 468 B.C., two years before the death of Xerxes. He was succeeded by a son named Ha'a'ibre Wahibre, known to the Greeks as Apries, and by a second son, a charismatic rebel known to the Greek historians as Inaros. Before we examine the life of Apries, and the role he played in the Egyptian rebellion, we need to summarize the evidence regarding Inaros.

The succession struggles in Persia which followed Xerxes death provided the context for a renewed attempt at independence in the remote Egyptian province. Rebellion broke out once again, led, according to Thucydides, by one "Inaros, son of Psammetichus". In the traditional history it is claimed that this Psammetichus is otherwise unknown. In the revised history, considering the timeline, he is almost certainly a son of Psamtik II. [377] His exploits are legendary. We let Gardiner describe the rebellion.

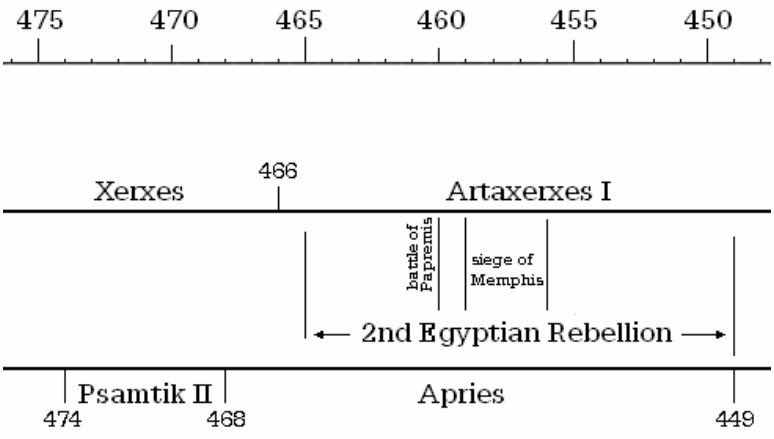
> Little else would be known about Egypt in the fifth century but for the Greek historians, and in them only an account of her relations with the Athenians. Following the disturbances which arose after the murder of Xerxes and the accession of Artaxerxes I (465 B.C.) serious trouble sprang up in the north-western Delta. Here a certain *Inaros, the son of Psammetichus* - both names are Egyptian, but Thucydides (i.104) calls him a king of the Libyans - revolted and established his headquarters at the fortress of Marea not far from the later Alexandrea. The first clash with the Persians took place at Papremis, an uncertainly identified place somewhere in the west; the force under the satrap Achaemenes, the brother of Xerxes, was defeated and he was killed; the remnant of his army retreated to Memphis and entrenched themselves there. Inaros was now in complete possession of the Delta, but apparently made no claim to the kingship. The inevitable relief from Persia was long in coming, but in expectation of it Inaros called for help upon the Athenians, at that time successfully warring against the Persians in Cyprus. With their aid two-thirds of Memphis or the 'White Wall', as Thucydides correctly termed it, was taken , but the rest held out until the Persian general Megabyzus drove off the besiegers, who in their turn found themselves confined within the marshes called Prosopitis. It was not until 454 B.C. that Megabyzus gained the upper hand;

[377] We cannot be overly dogmatic about this claim, but the fact that the revolt of Inaros began only a few years after the death of Psamtik II, and that Thucydides refers to him as a son of Psammetichus (see quote by Gardiner below), as if his father's name was of some reputation, suggests that the inference is reasonable. The fact that he is called a Libyan may simply reflect the origins of the Psamtik clan. The name Psamtik is almost certainly not Egyptian. It is spelled out in consonantal hieroglyphs in the monuments and is otherwise of unknown origin.

> few of the Athenians escaped and a number of ships arriving too late to be of assistance were annihilated; Inaros himself was betrayed into Persian hands and was crucified. This, however, was not quite the end of the revolt. A chieftain named Amyrtaeus - again the name is pure Egyptian - remained undefeated in the extreme western part of the Delta. He once more summoned the Athenians to his support and a number of their ships actually started, but the death in Cyprus of the Greek commander Cimon caused them to turn back. Shortly afterwards peace was declared between Athens and Persia and the interference of the former in Egyptian affairs came to an end (449-448 B.C.)[378]

This second Egyptian rebellion, in its various stages, lasted about fifteen years. Only highlights are preserved in Thucydides, one of the earliest informants on the course of the conflict. The reader should be clear on the dates involved. They are firmly established by Greek sources to within a year. The revolt began around 465 B.C., soon after the death of Xerxes, which would be the 4th year of Apries in the revised history. It ended with the peace of Callius in 449 B.C., the 20th and final year of Apries, and the 1st year of Amasis. In a moment we will see that Apries' role in the rebellion, insofar as we are informed by Herodotus, was restricted to its final years, though the fighting occupied almost the whole of his reign. Unfortunately he was not the focus of attention for the Greek historians. While his brother Inaros remained alive, they ignore him almost entirely. When he is mentioned, they know him by another name. But here we are getting ahead of ourselves. That matter is left for consideration in the following chapter.

Figure 34: The 2nd Egyptian Rebellion (465-449 B.C.)



[378] Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 370-71.

In the pages which follow we have but one overriding interest in the Egyptian rebellion. Our intent here, as elsewhere in this book, is to demonstrate that the 26th Saite dynasty, almost in its entirety, belongs in the 5th century B.C.. In particular we want to show that the successors of Psamtik II were participants in the Inaros rebellion, and are therefore correctly positioned in the revised chronology. While much of our attention needs to be focussed on the relationship between Inaros and Apries, there are other participants in the rebellion who deserve comment, some of whom have yet to be introduced. We restrict our attention to four of the major participants - Apries, Khababash, Inaros, and Pedubast. We meet them in the order listed.

Apries

Herodotus describes in great detail the part played by Apries in the revolt led by Inaros. Unfortunately *his* focus is entirely on Apries, and Inaros is not mentioned. The Pseudo-Herodotus was no doubt completely unaware of the true historical context of the events he describes. But rightly understood, the entire narrative of Herodotus describes an attempt by Apries to regain control of the western Delta with the assistance of an Athenian naval force following the demise of Inaros. It is the opinion of the classical Greek historians that an event of this sort does conclude the Egyptian rebellion. The matter is sufficiently complex that it is left for discussion in the following chapter, when our attention is focussed also on the life of Amasis. Here we are content to examine Apries involvement in the Egyptian rebellion in its earlier stages.

The intense desire to liberate the country from Persian domination, which had resulted in the earlier short-lived Egyptian rebellion led by Necao Wahemibre, had only intensified in the harsh environment created by Xerxes. Early in Apries reign, either immediately after he succeeded his father Psamtik II in 468 B.C. or soon after Xerxes death in 465 B.C. he set about fortifying the Memphite capital. It is possible that the construction was sanctioned by the Persians, who sensed the growing unrest within the country and ordered the fortification of existing strongholds as a precaution. Alternatively, Apries may have begun strengthening his defensive fortifications in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities in anticipation of the need for a sanctuary. Regardless, when Petrie excavated the large mound at the north end of Memphis in 1909 he discovered it to be the site of what he called "the royal palace of Apries". But a palace it was not.

According to Petrie the building "occupied the north-west corner of the great fortified camp of about thirty acres, at the north end of the ruins of Memphis."

> The walls are all of black mud brick, with stone linings around the lower part of the halls, stone floors to the halls, and stone doorways and stairways. The walls are from 10 to 22 feet in thickness, generally being about 14 feet. They vary in age, some being patched on the top with later brickwork, some being built up

> from the floor of (sic) Apries, while many extend down far into the mound, covered with plaster, and evidently have served for previous palaces.[379]

The original building on this site may have been a palace, but the modifications introduced by Apries turned it into a fortress within the fortified camp of Memphis. Apries was anticipating war. He even encircled his "palace fortress" with a moat.

> In the reconstruction of Apries a new approach to the palace was laid out, through a mass of building rather more to the east. A gateway in the wall, seen at the foot of Plate I, is exactly opposite the end of the "new broadway". Between them, isolating the palace, is a fosse about twenty feet deep, though the bottom of it is far above the level of the fields. This was doubtless crossed by a draw-bridge. Each side of the fosse has been partly built up as a berm, so that the space of 33 feet wide is narrowed to 9 feet between these berms.[380]

The critic will argue that Apries was at war with Nebuchadrezzar and anticipated an invasion. Apries' dates in the traditional history are 589-570 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar controlled the eastern Mediterranean. During the first three years of Apries' reign the siege and destruction of Jerusalem was underway. Egypt was indeed threatened with a fate similar to that endured by Judah, and we have argued at length that the threat did materialize, though much later. But the palace of Apries contains no indications of being overrun by the Babylonians. It does contain proof positive that it was occupied by the Persians, and arguably soon after its construction:

> The things found in the palace were not numerous, but they were mostly of unusually fine quality, as we might expect, and they throw light on the length of use of the building after the time of Apries. Among the small pieces of late coloured sculpture, there was one with a fragment of a blank cartouche, on which had been painted *the beginning of the name of Cambyses*. The next dated object is *the sling bullet of Khabbash* who held Memphis 486-484 B.C. There was rough reconstruction after the XXVIth dynasty, as the *slab of Tha-ast-en-amu*, who appears to been also called Aahmes-si-neit-rannu, was brought probably from his tomb. Of the time of Artaxerxes II, 402 B.C., there is a copy of a date on a document in Aramaic. Probably of Persian age is the large quantity of scale armour. Herodotos mentions the Persians wearing "sleeved breastplates with iron scales like those of a fish"; and, much later Ammianus describes that "they had plates of iron closely fitting over every limb", they "were covered from head to foot with thin plates of iron like the feathers of a bird", "this armour of theirs being singularly adapted to all the inflections of the body" and "all the troops were clothed in steel, in such a way that their bodies were covered with strong plates, so that the hard joints of the armour fitted

[379] W.M. Flinders Petrie, The Palace of Apries (1909), p. 1.
[380] Ibid., p. 2.

every limb of their bodies".[381] (italics added)

Khababash, we will argue momentarily, began his reign around the year 458 B.C. The slab of Thaastenamu will be examined in the next chapter. It proves conclusively that Amasis reigned only shortly before the rise of the 29th dynasty. The abbreviated name of Cambyses can only belong to the same Kbdj we have mentioned many times earlier. He was Amasis immediate successor. The contents of the palace suggest that it was fortified in the 5th century, not the 6th, and only shortly before the time of Khababash.

We can assume, both from the presence of a "sling bullet of Khabbash" and the profusion of Persian armour in the palace fortress, that the facility had been built before Inaros' clash with the Persians at Papremis, the arrival of the Athenian naval force, and the retreat of the remnant of the Persian army to Memphis, whence they held out for about three years. Apries' fortress had become a Persian sanctuary. The battle of Papremis is typically dated around 460 B.C. The arrival of the Athenian naval force to assist Inaros probably dates to 459 B.C. The Persian relief forces, led by Megabyzus did not arrive till around 456 B.C. Khababash must have been part of the combined Egyptian/Athenian force besieging the Persians in the palace of Apries sometime during the years 459-456 B.C.

This evidence that Apries was involved in the earlier stages of the rebellion is slight, but it needed to be documented.

Immediately before, or perhaps during the assault on the Memphite garrison, the rebellion spread to the south of Egypt. The inscription on a statue of Nesuhor, governor of the southlands under Apries, records a military encounter between troops under Nesuhor's command and the mercenary troops occupying Elephantine. Needless to say the inscription has been variously interpreted, and is assigned to the 6th century by all historians. It begins with a statement of Nesuhor's credentials. He identifies himself as one

> whom his majesty appointed to a very great office, the office of his eldest son, governor of the Door of the Southern Countries, to repel the countries that rebel against him. When he hath spread the fear of him in the southern countries, they flee into their valleys for fear of him. Who did not relax [vigilance in] seeking benefits for his lord; honoured of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Apries (H"-ib-R'), favoured by the son of Re, Wahibre (W'h-yb-R'), Nesuhor, whose beautiful name is Ib-Psamtik-menekh ("The-Heart-of-Psamtik-is-Excellent"), son of Ifrer (Ywfrr), born of the mistress, Tesenethor (T'-sn.t-Hr), triumphant. BAR IV 990

Then, following a lengthy expression of devotion to Khnum, the god of Elephantine,

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[381] Ibid., p. 11.

Nesuhor describes the immediate cause of his gratitude:

> For ye rescued me from an evil plight, from the mercenaries [Libyans], Greeks, Asiatics, and foreigners, who had it in their hearts to --, and who had it in their hearts to go to Shas-heret (S'ys-hr.t). His majesty feared because of the evil which they did (*or "might do"*) I re-established their heart in reason by advice, not permitting them to go to Nubia (Tk'-pd.t), (but) bringing them to the place where his majesty was; and his majesty executed their [punishment].(italicized insert mine) BAR IV 994

The earliest interpretations of this monument in the late 19th century viewed the conflict as a mutiny of Egyptian mercenaries stationed on the southern frontier. The mutiny was quashed by Nesuhor. That interpretation was modified slightly by Petrie who interpreted the actions of Nesuhor as part of a Nubian war initiated by Apries. Noting the presence of cartouches of Apries near the first cataract he remarks:

> This was apparently in his (Apries') Nubian war, which is undated, but is described on the statue of his general, Nes'hor, who records that he overcame the Amu, Hanebu, and Sati, who probably belonged to the Egyptian mercenaries of the southern frontier... [382]

These interpretations are mistaken. The century is wrong. It was not a rebellion. There was probably no military engagement. From the language of the inscription it appears that Nesuhor was sent to Elephantine in his capacity as the southern governor either to convince the Elephantine troops to join the rebellion or, failing that, to engage them in battle. The text is somewhat fragmented and the translation can be improved, but it gives the appearance of a successful diplomatic mission, not an armed conflict. The Elephantine troops appear to have surrendered, deciding to side with the rebels, and were escorted south to join Apries. What Petrie calls “their [punishment]” was probably “their [reward]”.

Only one other historical reference alludes to Apries' involvement in the early stages of the rebellion. Herodotus preserves the memory:

> He was more fortunate than any former king (save only his great-grandfather Psammetichus) during his rule of twenty-five years, in which he sent an army against Sidon and did battle by sea with the king of Tyre. (Her. II 161)

It appears that Herodotus is describing the land and sea stages of a single military encounter, most likely connected with the beginning stages of Inaros' revolt as documented by Thucydides:

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[382] Petrie, *History of Egypt III* pp. 346-7

> Meanwhile Inaros, son of Psammetichus, a Libyan king of the Libyans on the Egyptian border, having his headquarters at Marea, the town above Pharos, caused a revolt of almost the whole of Egypt from King Artaxerxes, and placing himself at its head, invited the Athenians to his assistance. Abandoning a Cyprian expedition upon which they happened to be engaged, with two hundred ships of their own and their allies, they arrived in Egypt and sailed from the sea into the Nile, and making themselves masters of the river and two-thirds of Memphis, addressed themselves to the attack of the remaining third, which is called White Castle. Within it were Persians and Medes who had taken refuge there, and Egyptians who had not joined the rebellion. [Thuc. 105]

When Thucydides refers to the Athenians "making themselves masters of the river" it is implied, though not expressly stated, that a naval battle was engaged between Persian and Athenian navies on one or several of the Nile tributaries. It can be assumed that the Egyptians assisted by supplying troops and whatever ships remained under Egyptian control. The Persians, driven from Papremis by Inaros, were still a considerable threat. Thucydides makes no reference to the Persian navy, but we can assume that one was present and that it engaged the Athenian expeditionary force till driven off or defeated. The surviving Persian land force was driven upriver to Memphis. Since the Persian navy consisted almost entirely of Phoenician ships, both Tyrian and Sidonian, this may be the land/sea battle alluded to by Apries. The battle took place in Egypt, not Phoenicia.

If that interpretation fails then we must assume that ground troops and ships were sent later (perhaps during the lengthy siege of Memphis) to destroy the Persian naval base of operations at Tyre and Sidon. Regardless of the timing, there is no difficulty imagining either the motivation or the possibility of the military actions described by Herodotus, at least within the context of the revised history.

Not so in the traditional history. Nebuchadrezzar began his assault on Tyre in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. The assault lasted thirteen years, ending around 573 B.C. We wonder why Apries would immediately engage in war a country already devastated and all but abandoned. But that is precisely what is argued by Egyptologists. Petrie reasons that "some time between 574 B.C. and 569 B.C., after Tyre had been crushed by Babylon, Egypt again tried for a footing [in Syria], defeated the remains of the Phoenician fleet and its Cypriote allies, and captured Sidon."[383] Let the reader judge the merits of this proposal.

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[383] Ibid., p. 345.

Khababash

We admit that the "sling bullet of Khabbash" found by Petrie in Apries' "palace" cannot, in and of itself, support the conclusion we have drawn from it, namely, that Khababash participated in the three year assault on the confined Persian/Egyptian troops in Memphis. But the matter does not end with that single piece of evidence. Petrie referred to "Khabbash" as the leader of the Egyptian rebellion of 486-484 B.C. He must have some basis in fact for his belief that Khababash lived in 5th century B.C. Who is Khababash and why did scholars, early in the twentieth century, believe that he ruled during the first Persian occupation? Today it is considered axiomatic that he is a late 4th century king.

Almost nothing is known of this ephemeral king. Two documents must suffice to date his reign. One we have already examined. The sarcophagus in the Serapeum vault bears an inscription dated in the 3rd month of this kings 2nd year.

> Second Regnal-year, third Month of Akhet under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, H-b-š (sic), may he live forever! Beloved of Apis-Osiris, Lord (?) of Kemi.[384]

No data is supplied to identify this date as pertaining to the death or funeral of the bull in question. On the assumption that Khababash participated in the assault on the palace of Apries during the years 459-456 we might assume this Apis was the same bull which died in the 12th year of Apries, an event we have previously dated to the year 457 B.C. In that case the reign of Khababash must have begun in either 459 or 458, depending how he numbered his years. But that bull is ruled out by three considerations.

In the first place the Apries bull died in the 8th month and its funeral was held in the 10th month of that king's 12th year. Khababash dated his stela in the 3nd month. Besides, the Apries bull had its own crypt in the Serapeum, identified by Mariette as his chamber X. And finally, the Apries bull was 17 years old when it died, while according to the Egyptologist Battiscombe Gunn, who examined the bull's coffin, "The sarcophagus is so much smaller than the others that it must have been made for an Apis who died while yet a calf."[385]

This effectively rules out from consideration the bull deceased in Apries' 12th year. But its successor is another question.

Following the Apries bull, the next registered death of an Apis in the Saite period was the bull that died in the 23rd year of Amasis. That bull was born on the 7th day of the 1st month of the 5th year of Amasis. When we made a listing earlier of the Saite dynasty bulls and included a bull born in the 12th year of Apries and deceased in the 5th year of

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[384] Battiscombe Gunn, "The Inscribed Sarcophagi in the Serapeum," ASAE 26 (1926) 87
[385] Ibid., p. 86

Amasis we were following the suggestion of Egyptologists, who merely hypothesize the existence of this bull. There is no evidence that such a bull existed. No stelae bearing these dates has ever been found and no Serapeum crypt exists to prove this bull ever lived. It is entirely possible that no bull lived in this time interval. It is also possible that the time period was occupied by several bulls. This was the time of the Inaros rebellion. There was constant warfare during these troubled times. Who knows what effect this conflict had on the operations of the Serapeum cult?

It is our opinion that the Khababash bull succeeded the bull deceased in the year 457 B.C. If it died as a calf, as its coffin suggests, that death might have taken place the next year or possibly early in the year following, thus in 456 or 455 B.C. Its successor, if there was an immediate successor, would have then lived ten or eleven years and died early in 445 B.C. One Apis bull is therefore added to the record.

In defence of the existence of this hypothetical bull we make the following observations. If the Khababash bull did die in 456, in that kings 2nd year (the 14th year of Apries), then the reign of Khababash must have begun in 457 or 458 B.C. Either of these dates accords with our earlier suggestion that this king participated in the assault on the palace of Apries (459-456 B.C.), then underway. The fact that the Serapeum is not far removed from the scene of the battle suggests that perhaps the premature death of the Apis was in some way connected with the ongoing conflict. We assume it was a casualty of the war.

The question may well be raised why this fledgling bull was buried by Khababash and not by Apries. The answer is perhaps found in the historical circumstance attending its death, and possibly also its age. Apries was preoccupied with an armed assault on Memphis and with sundry details related to the ongoing rebellion. There was little free time to attend to religious matters, and the death of an Apis, newly installed, for whom devotees had not had sufficient time to develop any great affection, did not attract the usual fanfare. But fortunately one donator did respond to the recent death of the Apis. And by even greater fortune his stela has survived and is dated – to the 14th year of Ha'a'ibre Wahibre (Apries). The stela is badly damaged and only a few lines of text are legible, so we are not sure if the occasion was the death or the funeral of the young bull. Probability suggests it was the funeral. It was, perhaps, the third month of the year, as stated by the Khababash coffin inscription. The death may have occurred late the year before (456 B.C.) or early in the first month of Apries' 14th year (455 B.C.). Regardless, this lone stela is confirmation, in and of itself, that our reasoning regarding the Khababash bull, and the beginning of the reign of Khababash, is correct.[386]

[386] The transcription of the extant portion of the stela was published by Emile Chassinat in his "Textes Provenant du Serapeum de Memphis," RT 25 (1903) 58 (his bull number CLXXV). No transliteration or translation is provided for this or for any of the Chassinat Serapeum inscriptions published in this lengthy series. This particular inscription, for reasons unknown to this author, has been overlooked by scholars. Perhaps they assume that the stela was erected late by a donator

But these are not the only considerations which argue for our dating of this problematic king. We have already briefly discussed the sarcophagus that bears his name. The fact that it is contained in the "greater vaults" tells us that Khababash postdates the time of Psamtik I. Its proximity to the tomb of Amasis and its location between Mariette's chambers B', and C' assigned to the reign of Darius II, further date the Apis death to the middle of the 5th century. And if the Khababash bull does not represent one of the bulls deceased between the 12th year of Apries and the 5th year of Amasis, then where are the coffins of those interim bulls?

With the reign of Khababash dated around the year 458/457 B.C. all the known Serapeum evidence related to this king is accounted for. We have not chosen this year merely to suit the argument of this revision. It is the date demanded by the evidence at hand. It is therefore all the more significant that this date is supported by the only other document which makes historical reference to this king, the so-called Satrap stela. We follow Gardiner's description of this important monument:

> Another knotty problem is raised by a certain Khababash who assumed the title of a Pharaoh. An Apis sarcophagus of his second year is known, and the marriage contract of a petty Theban priest is dated in his first year. More interesting, however, is the information about him disclosed by a stela of 311 B.C., when the later Ptolemy I Soter was as yet only the satrap of Egypt. In form this inscription is a eulogy of Ptolemy's great achievements, but its evident purpose was to record his restitution to the priests of Buto of a tract of country which, after having belonged to them from time immemorial, had been taken from them by Xerxes, who is described as an enemy and malefactor. Khababash, having listened to the priests' plea and having been reminded that the god Horus had expelled Xerxes and his son from Egypt by way of punishment, granted the petition, as was likewise done later by Ptolemy. There are here two clues to the historical position of Khababash: first he was clearly posterior to Xerxes, and secondly he is said to have made his decision after having explored the Delta mouths through which the 'Asiatics', i.e. the Persians, might be expected to attack Egypt.[387]

Gardiner's two clues clinch the argument for our placement of Khababash. The year 458 B.C. is posterior to Xerxes, who died in 466 B.C. It follows immediately on the heels of the expulsion of Artaxerxes, Xerxes' son, from Egypt. Retaliation could be expected any moment both to put down the rebellion and rescue the besieged garrison in Memphis. A Persian naval response via the Delta "mouths" would be the most probable route. Without doubt defensive preparations were made by Inaros and company. An inspection of the possible invasion routes would be an absolute necessity.

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wanting to honor the bull deceased in the 12th year of Apries. If so, that would be an unusual action, demanding some explanation. None is provided.

[387] 40. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 380.

On the basis of these "clues" Egyptologists ought to have reasoned that Khababash belonged in the time of Inaros, and only shortly after the battle of Papremis. But the Greek historians say nothing about Khababash and even Inaros is never called a king in the existing histories. Nineteenth century scholars therefore dated Khababash earlier in the 5th century, ignoring the fact that, according to the Satrap stela, he post-dated the time of Xerxes. Instead they identified him as the leader of the 487-484 B.C. rebellion. Twentieth century scholars have placed him in the 30th dynasty immediately preceding the arrival of Alexander the Great. These later scholars follow yet a third clue mentioned by Gardiner, who continues his earlier discussion by adding:

> There is a third clue in the fact that the above mentioned marriage contract was signed by the same notary as signed another document of 324 B.C.[388]

We waste no time on Gardiner's third clue. It is of questionable value, relying more on the authority of Spiegelberg (the renowned expert on the demotic script who first noted the "identity" of signatures) than the inherent strength of the argument. Both documents are signed by P'-di-Hr-p'-r', son of p'-h'-s. But palaeography is highly subjective and in view of the practice of patronymy, so widespread in the late period Egypt, this correspondence of name may occur in documents centuries apart. We need only examine the genealogy of the author of the Petition of Petesi to find a case in point. That document was authored by Petesi (III), son of Essemteu, son of Petesi (II), son of Essemteu, son of Petesi (I). Cruz-Uribe, also a demotic specialist, has recently examined the same marriage contract (the so-called Papyrus Libbey) and he remains unconvinced by the signature. All he can say regarding the scribe P'-di-Hr-p'-r' is that "this person *may be* the same as Party A in P. Louvre E. 2439." (italics mine)[389]

We return to the Satrap stela for one final comment. An important detail emerges from the portion of the text which discusses the expulsion of Xerxes and his son from Egypt. We quote one of the earliest translations, that of Mahaffy in his *History of Egypt Under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*:

> "They spake before his Holiness (i.e. Khababasha): The king our Lord Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, the ruler of rulers, the king of the kings of Upper Egypt, the king of the kings of Lower Egypt, the avenger of his father, the lord of Pe, being the beginning of the gods hereafter, not a king after him, cast out the miscreant Xerxes with his eldest son, making himself known in the town of Neith, Sais, on this day beside the holy mother.[390]

The priests who are quoted are contemporaries of Khababash, to whom they direct this eulogy of the god Horus. They describe the expulsion of the Persians as an event which has just recently occurred. They also address Horus as the king of the *kings* of Upper

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[388] Ibid.
[389] Eugene Cruz-Uribe, "Papyrus Libbey: A Reexamination," Serapis 4 (1977-78) p. 9, note 28.
[390] J.P. Mahaffy, A History of Egypt Under the Ptolemaic Dynasty (1899) p. 40.

Egypt and the king of the *kings* of Lower Egypt. While other interpretations of this language are possible[391], it seems fair to argue from this text a fact which is gradually emerging from our investigation of these eventful years. Egypt during the course of the Egyptian rebellion is populated by a plurality of kings. In this chapter alone we will refer to five. There were doubtless many others, most being no more than nomarchs or local princes claiming for themselves a share of the Persian province.[392] And the most prominent rebel leader, Inaros, does not even rank among them.

Inaros

Establishing a link between Inaros and the Saite dynasty is more difficult than was the case for Khababash. The reason is simple. Inaros is known only via the accounts of his rebellion preserved by the Greek historians Thucydides, Ktesias, Diodorus Siculus, and others. His name is otherwise unknown. Not a single Egyptian monument attests his existence. The same can be said for a certain Amyrtaeus who is known to have assisted Inaros later in his rebellion, and who continued the revolt after the Persians captured Inaros. We do wonder at this apparent lack of documentation. It is a problem that needs to be addressed, but this is not the appropriate time. The present discussion is concerned only with establishing a connection between Inaros and the Saite dynasty which would confirm our 5th century dating of the dynasty. The evidence is necessarily indirect.

For well over a century the scholarly world has been aware of a cycle of stories concerned with the contemporaries and immediate successors of Inaros. The documents are written entirely in Coptic on papyri and were probably composed in the Ptolemaic era. This cycle of stories, bearing such exotic names as *Inaros and the Griffon*, *Contest for the Benefice of Amun*, *Contest for the Breastplate (or Armour) of Inaros*, and the *Egyptians and Amazons* are virtually inaccessible to the average reader. None exists in English translation, some are unpublished, and the early publications of the two Contest stories, the German translations of Spiegelberg and Krall, are difficult to find. K.A. Kitchen provides a summary of these stories in an excursus in his popular *Third*

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[391] The phrases are taken to be the equivalent of a superlative by Robert K. Ritner, "Khababash and the Satrap Stela - A Grammatical Rejoinder," ZAS 107 (1980). He translates: "They said before his majesty: Oh sovereign our lord, Horus the son of Isis, the son of Osiris, the ruler of rulers, the ideal Upper Egyptian King, the ideal Lower Egyptian King, ..." But Spalinger, whose article Ritner is responding to, translated precisely as does Mahaffy a century earlier: "King of the Upper Egyptian kings! King of the Lower Egyptian kings" ["The Reign of King Chabbash: An Interpretation," ZAS 105 (1978) p. 151].

[392] We have already mentioned Ankhanre Psamtik, Apries, and Khababash, and possibly Ankhnesneferibre, if we include queens.. Below we discuss Seheribre Pedubast and mention in passing Amyrtaeus. Herodotus adds to the list "Thannyras, son of Inarus, who was restored to his father's throne and Pausiris, son of Amyrtaeus, likewise" (Her. III 15) Other kings are mentioned in the *Pedubast Cycle* of narratives (see below).

Intermediate Period in Egypt.[393] But Kitchen's discussion suffers from the mistaken supposition that much of the background is borrowed from the period of Assyrian occupation of Egypt, in spite of the presence of Inaros in the narrative. Recently Kim Ryholt has published an English translation of a fragmentary papyrus containing a parallel to the earlier part of the *Contest for the Armour of Inaros.*[394]

There are certainly many mythological and legendary accretions present in this cycle of stories, but we argue that the underlying historical stratum is factual. *Inaros and the Griffon* tells the story of Inaros fighting a griffon from the Red Sea. *The Contest for the Benefice of Amon* describes how Ankhhor, son of a king Pedubast, usurped the inheritance of a high priest deceased during his father's reign and it goes on to document the consequences which ensued. *The Contest for the Armour of Inaros* describes the conflict between Pemu, son of Inaros, and Wertepamunniut of Mendes, following the death and burial of Inaros. The action in the story takes place during the reign of king Pedubast, who has outlived Inaros, and whom Pemu saved when Egypt was invaded by foreigners led by an otherwise unknown *'slstny*. In the *Egyptians and Amazons* we see Pedikhons, another son of Inaros, leaving behind the comforts of Egypt, and the company of king Pedubast, to search for adventure in the East.

All of these stories purport to originate from a single period in history, the time immediately following the death of Inaros. There is no question that this is the famed leader of the 5th century rebellion. Even Kitchen agrees. But King Pedubast is the central figure, having had the good fortune to live through the foreign invasion and outlive Inaros. In consequence the group of stories bears his name: *The Cycle of Pedubast.*

This Pedubast cycle provides a means whereby we can establish a possible connection between the 5th century rebel leader Inaros and the Saite dynasty. The reasoning is necessarily circuitous. Since Inaros and Pedubast are contemporaries according to the Pedubast cycle of stories, then we can argue the case for Inaros by arguing the case for Pedubast. In the paragraphs that conclude this chapter, we attempt to show that a king Pedubast did in fact reign in the mid 5th century B.C.. He must therefore be the Pedubast who was contemporary with Inaros in the Pedubast cycle. And as the argument goes, his reign overlaps the early years of Amasis.

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[393] K.A. Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period 2nd (1986) [Excursus G, "Notes on the Background of the Story-cycles of Pedubastis"] Sect. 423-430 pp. 455-61.

[394] Kim Ryholt, "A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P. Krall (P. Carlsberg 456 + P. CtYBR 4513): Demotic Narratives From the Tebtunis Temple Library (I)," Jea 84 (1998) pp. 151-169.

A 5th Century Pedubast (Contemporary of Amasis)

Three king Pedubasts are attested on Egyptian monuments, bearing three distinct prenomen: Usimare Setepenamun, Sehetepibenre, and Seheribre. In 1956 the Egyptologist Jean Yoyotte expressed the opinion, with appropriate argument, that Seheribre Pedubast ruled in Egypt during the first Persian domination, a short time after the reign of Darius I.[395] That opinion was shared by K.A. Kitchen, based on the same criteria, as recently as 1986.[396] We therefore rest our case, based on the opinion of these noted authorities, that a king Pedubast ruled Egypt around the time of Inaros in the mid 5th century. But we are not here to prove the case for the underlying historicity of the Pedubast cycle of narratives. We look for evidence that connects this king with the Saite dynasty, specifically with Amasis.

That evidence is provided by Yoyotte himself, in a 1972 reevaluation of the subject. By this time he has changed his mind on the date of Seheribre Pedubast, expressing a preference for a slightly different date, one closer to the reign of Amasis. Clearly in the interim between his initial and revised dating of this king Yoyotte has unearthed new evidence. To understand what caused his change of mind we need to briefly examine the primary inscriptional evidence on which his original opinion was based. The details can be confusing. The reader will have to proceed slowly.

Four separate instances of the name of king Seheribre Pedubast are known, but only one is of significant historical value. It occurs on a seal impression on a group of three demotic papyri found by Petrie in the rubbish of the Meydum pyramid at the turn of the 20th century. A seal similar to that which made this impression has also been found. The sealed papyrus was in fine condition, written at the behest of the official named Psamtik on the seal, who refers to himself as the *mr htm* of a king Seheribre. The substance of the letter, which concerned the assessment of land near Heracleopolis, is of minimal interest. The letter is dated to the 6th day of the 4th month of the 1st year of a king who is not named in the body of the letter. As mentioned, it is written in a demotic script.

F. Ll. Griffith, an associate of Petrie and a demotic specialist, examined the papyrus and concluded that it belonged to the first Persian domination, probably to the time of Darius I. It could not predate the time of Amasis since the demotic script, in the consensus view of scholars, was only introduced into Egypt during Amasis' reign.

This left Petrie with an interpretive problem. The sealed letter gave the impression that its dateline referred to the reign of the king Seheribre (Pedubast) named on the seal. Seheribre was therefore a living king. But the inscription was written in demotic script, an innovation attributed by Egyptologists to the time of Amasis. To date this document to the time of Amasis was out of the question for traditionalists such as Petrie. Amasis was the sole ruler of all of Egypt. And no such king was otherwise attested in the

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[395] Jean Yoyotte, "Petoubastis III,K" RdE 24 (1972) pp. 216-223.
[396] Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 98 (sect. 79).

Persian period.. The only kings Pedubast known to Egyptologists at the time reigned either in the 23rd dynasty (8th century) or at the time of Ashurbanipal's dominion over Egypt (7th century). Petrie solved his problem by identifying Psamtik as a necropolis official charged with the task of attending to the tomb of king Seheribre, and he argued that the deceased king had reigned shortly before the 26th dynasty. Yoyotte quotes Petrie's expressed opinion:

> ... a seal found upon a papyrus document in demotic, which Mr. Griffith would date to Darius and not before Amasis [...]. The official title mer sahu, keeper of the seal, is known in connexion with tombs in the demotic period, so it does not imply that the king was living at the time the seal was being used. And this prayer [...] is like that offered to gods on other seals [...]. It seems therefore that this belonged to the keeper of the tomb of a king Seher-ab-ra.[397]

The dateline must therefore belong to the first year of an otherwise indeterminate king.

When Yoyotte briefly addressed the issue of the dates of king Seheribre Pedubast in 1956, he immediately rejected Petrie's argument.[398] He argued that the title *mr htm* means precisely what it says, "keeper of the seal" and that the dignitary who typically bore that title had no necessary connection with the necropolis. The Medum papyrus must be understood as dating from the 1st year of a living king Seheribre, and since it originated from the Persian period it must belong to the earliest known time in that period when an Egyptian king was on the throne. He therefore dated the king and the document to the time of the first Egyptian rebellion, 487-484 B.C.. His reasoning was absolutely sound. Our dating of this king to the second Egyptian rebellion is equally plausible.

In 1972 Yoyotte returned to the subject for a more in depth analysis. This time he focussed on the unique structure and wording of the inscription on the Medum seal, which reads: "Protection of Seheribre, the keeper of the seal (*mr htm*) Psamtik". The layout of the inscription is uniquely composed in four columns incorporating 1) the hieroglyph meaning "protection"; 2) the cartouche prenomen of the king surmounted by two plumes; 3) the title of the official; and 4) the name of the official. One of the other previously mentioned items bearing the name of Seheribre, unfortunately lacking any historical context, is a seal with this identical structure. Only the name of the official is different. It reads: "Protection of Seheribre, the *mr htm* Harouodj".

Yoyotte goes on to document another eight seals with precisely this wording and artistic

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[397] Yoyotte, Petoubastis III, p. 218. The original remarks are contained in Petrie's book *Meydum and Memphis III*, p.43.

[398] Yoyotte was rather contemptuous of Petrie's analysis. "De la sorte, le document pouvait etre considere comme un souvenir posthume d'un Seheribre-Petoubasttis qui aurait vecu a l'Epoque Libyenne. Pour commode et ingenieuse qu'elle soit, l'interpretation de Petrie ne peut etre retenue" [ibid. p. 218]

layout, though the names and titles of the officials all vary. But without exception these other seals bear the king's name *Khnemibre* , the prenomen of Ahmose-sa-Neith. Based on the design of these eight seals, a design apparently unique to the time of Amasis, Yoyotte expressed the opinion that the king Sehibre mentioned on the other two seals must date very close to the time of Amasis. The time of the Egyptian rebellion was forty years distant from Amasis' death. That was too far removed. A perusal of the known history of the early years of Darius I suggested the only possible alternative dating, that of the uprising against the satrap Aryandes in the autumn of 522 B.C. which supposedly lasted until 520 B.C. Accordingly Yoyotte assumes that Seheribre Pedubast claimed sovereignty during this brief uprising, only four years removed from the death of Amasis.

But Yoyotte also has a problem. The uprising in the early years of Darius reign was not a rebellion by the Egyptians against Persian rule. If anything it pitted the Persian satrap Aryandes against Darius. It is not worth our while to discuss the matter further. There is absolutely no suggestion in the literature on the subject that any Egyptian king challenged Persian rule during this brief time period. And besides, if the king Seheribre reigned for only one or two years in some restricted area of the Delta we wonder how he managed to have two different officials, Psamtik and Harouodj, occupying the identical office (*mr htm*) at the same time.

Let us set the matter straight. Four facts emerge from the documents related to Seheribre Pedubast

1) The demotic period in Egypt did not begin with the reign of Amasis. It began at the beginning of the first Persian domination. With the dynasties displaced, and the 26th dynasty wrongly positioned anterior to the 27th Persian period, scholars are confused regarding the origins of the demotic script. The issue needs to be addressed in a separate analysis.

2) The letter written by Psamtik, the *mr htm* of Seheribre, dates from the middle of the first Persian domination, the time of Inaros, a fact memorialized in the many narratives of the Pedubast cycle. There is no need to hypothesize the existence of another king by this name ruling earlier in the Persian period, whether in the fourth year of Darius I or during the rebellion which ended Darius' reign. Both Griffith and Yoyotte (in his earlier analysis) were close to the truth.

3) The reign of Seheribre Pedubast began roughly a decade before the reign of Amasis. According to the Pedubast Cycle he outlived Inaros. His death must therefore have preceded the beginning of Amasis' reign by at most a few years. He may even have ruled through the early years of Amasis. Yoyotte's later analysis of the Seheribre and Khnemibre seals is therefore also correct.

4) The possibility that Seheribre dates from within the Saite dynasty ought to have been seriously considered from the outset, were it not for the difficulty of explaining his

historical position. All of the Saite kings bore names with the identical format x + ib + Re and are all written with the god's name in honorific position: Re + x + ib. The fact that the name Seher-ib-re has the identical structure as Wah-ib-re, Wahem-ib-re, Haa-ib-re, Nefer-ib-re, and Khnem-ib-re has not been overlooked by scholars. Its resemblance to Saite names was a factor in Yoyotte's argument. Unfortunately Yoyotte's options were limited by his reliance on an errant chronology for the Saite dynasty. It is the displaced dynasties that continue to confound the scholars.

The confusion continues into the reign of Amasis.

Chapter 10: Amasis & the Greeks

Amasis & Apries

In the revised history Amasis' ruled Egypt from 449-405 B.C.. His reign must have followed on the heels of the Inaros' rebellion. It may even be a consequence of that conflict. In turn Amasis' death, which brought an end to the combined 26th/27th Saite/Persian dynasty, precedes immediately the 28th dynasty of Amyrtaeus, whom Diodorus Siculus refers to as "Psammetichus, king of the Egyptians, son of the famous Psammetichus." Clearly the beginning and end of the reign of Ahmose-sa-Neith are critical for our revision. If we are going to establish Amasis in his rightful historical context our attention must be directed to the years 449 B.C. and 405 B.C..

Two sources combine to describe the transition period between the reigns of Apries and Amasis in the traditional history. Most familiar but least reliable - since they antedate by one to four centuries the events they describe - are the histories of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, each of whom discusses in great detail the civil war which resulted in the dethronement and eventual death of Apries. Less well known, but much more important - since it is contemporary with the events it documents - is the hieroglyphic inscription of the so-called Elephantine stela, which describes two separate battles connected with the Apries-Amasis transition. Volumes have been written on the subject of the Amasis' succession based on these two disparate sources. Interpretive problems immediately surface.

If our revision is correct a third source must also contribute to the debate. The Inaros rebellion ended around the year 449 B.C. Thucydides describes the critical final years. Ktesias adds his own version of the same events. If we are on track then Thucydides and Ktesias should complement Herodotus and the Elephantine stela. As we shall soon see, the agreement is impressive.

The Inaros Rebellion according to Thucydides & Ktesias

Precisely when the Egyptian rebellion began is uncertain. Its conclusion is more precisely dated. Our knowledge is limited to the brief comments preserved in the narratives of Thucydides, Ktesias, and other Greek and Roman historians, remarks which are narrowly focussed on the part played by the Athenian naval forces in the conflict. If Thucydides is correct, Athens entered the war early in 459 B.C. and exited the conflict in 449 B.C. When last we examined the course of the war Megabyzus had arrived in Egypt to relieve the siege of Memphis, most likely late in the year 456 B.C. Inaros and the Greeks were driven back to the western Delta area of "Prosopitis", an "island", or land mass, enclosed by several Nile tributaries or channels. At that location and for several years the Persians laid siege to the combined forces of Inaros and the

Athenians. In 454 B.C. the siege was successful. Inaros was captured and executed, the Athenian navy destroyed. Only a few Greeks escaped, seeking asylum in Cyrene.

> Arriving by land he (Megabyzus) defeated the Egyptians and their allies in a battle, and drove the Hellenes out of Memphis, and at length shut them up in the island of Prosopitis, where he besieged them for a year and six months. At last, draining the canal of its waters, which he diverted into another channel, he left their ships high and dry and joined most of the island to the mainland, and then marched over on foot and captured it. Thus the enterprise of the Hellenes came to ruin after six years of war. Of all that large host a few travelling through Libya reached Cyrene in safety, but most of them perished. And thus Egypt returned to its subjection to the king, except Amyrtaeus, the king in the marshes, who they were unable to capture from the extent of the marsh; the marshmen being also the most warlike of the Egyptians. Inaros, the Libyan king, the sole author of the Egyptian revolt, was betrayed, taken, and crucified. (Thuc. 1.109-110)

An Athenian fleet sent to relieve the siege of Prosopitis arrived too late and was itself destroyed.

> Meanwhile a relieving squadron of fifty vessels had sailed from Athens and the rest of the confederacy for Egypt. They put in to shore at the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, in total ignorance of what had occurred. Attacked on the land side by the troops, and from the sea by the Phoenician navy, most of the ships were destroyed; the few remaining being saved by retreat. Such was the end of the great expedition of the Athenians and their allies to Egypt. (Thuc. 1.110)

For several years Athens exited the Egyptian war, now led by Amyrtaeus. Athens was preoccupied with struggles closer to home, precursors of the Peloponnesian war which would erupt several decades later. After a few years of conflict a local peace was engaged, freeing the Athenians to meddle again in Mediterranean politics. Around 450 B.C. Athens renewed its challenge to Persia on two fronts - Cyprus and Egypt.

> Released from Hellenic war, the Athenians made an expedition to Cyprus with two hundred vessels of their own and their allies, under the command of Cimon. Sixty of these were detached to Egypt at the instance of Amyrtaeus, the king in the marshes; the rest laid siege to Kitium, from which, however, they were compelled to retire by the death of Cimon and by scarcity of provisions. Sailing off Salamis in Cyprus, they fought with the Phoenicians, Cyprians, and Cilicians by land and sea, and being victorious on both elements departed home, and with them the returned squadron from Egypt. (Thuc. 1.112)

We are not told by Thucydides what transpired in Egypt in 450/49 B.C., only that Athenian assistance was requested by Amyrtaeus and that the fleet dispatched to Egypt returned to join the main Mediterranean fleet following that fleet's victories in Cyprus

and Cilicia. The retreat from Egypt must be dated to 449 B.C..

Within a year of the return of the Athenian fleet a peace was negotiated between the Persians and the Greeks.

> The treaty of peace, concluded probably early in 448, has been named after Callias ... The treaty was concluded between Persia on the one hand and Athens and her Allies on the other. The terms are known to us only in a paraphrase of the main articles. 'All the Greek cities in Asia shall be autonomous. The Persian satraps shall not come within three day's journey of the coast, and no Persian warship shall sail the seas between Phaselis and Cyaniae. Athens shall not invade the territory of the great King.' By this treaty the Greeks in Asia were protected from Persia and the war with Persia was concluded ... Persian rule over Cyprus and Egypt was recognized and ensured against Athenian intervention; the sea power of Athens was recognized and her empire ... ensured against Persian intervention; and the seas were open to merchant vessels of both nations, which were now at peace. The treaty marked the end of the Greek war against Persia ... [399]

What was the nature of the expedition undertaken in 450/49 B.C. by the sixty vessels sent to assist Amyrtaeus? And who is Amyrtaeus, earlier an ally of Inaros, now his successor in the struggle to liberate Egypt?

Before answering these questions we need to revisit the earlier stages of the rebellion. Thus far we have depended on Thucydides. But Ktesias shows even more familiarity with the rebellion, and his version of events differs in some respects from that of Thucydides. For future reference we quote the relevant sections of the *Persika*:

> (32) Egypt revolted. Inaros, a Libyan, *and another Egyptian* had stirred up this revolt (and) preparations were made for war. The Athenians themselves, at the request of Inaros, sent 40 vessels. Artaxerxes, inclined to participate in person in the war, was dissuaded by his friends, sending (instead) Achaemenes, his brother, at the head of an army of 400,000 infantry and 80 vessels. Inaros engaged the battle against Achaemenes and victory rested with the Egyptians. Achaemenes, wounded by Inaros, died and his remains were sent (in mockery) to Artaxerxes. Inaros (continued) to engage himself in (the) naval battle in which Chartimides - who commanded the forty vessels sent from Athens - distinguished himself. Fifty Persian ships were lost. Twenty were captured, along with their provisions, and thirty were sunk. (33) Afterward Megabyzus was sent against Inaros at the head of another army which added to what remained of the previous (force) 200,000 soldiers and 300 vessels, commanded by Oriscus. Thus, without including the fleet, the actual troop numbers

[399] N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* (1959) 3rd. p. 303, quoting Diodorus Siculus 12,4,5.

> amounted to 500,000 men. Indeed, when Achaemenes had fallen (earlier) there fell with him 100,000 men of the 400,000 which he commanded. Then a violent battle was engaged with considerable losses on both sides, but especially on the part of the Egyptians. Megabyzus wounded Inaros in the thigh and put him to flight (while) the Persians prevailed victoriously. *Inaros escaped to Byblos, which is a well-fortified (lit. strong) Egyptian town,* along with those Greeks who were not killed in the battle alongside Charitimides. (34) All Egypt, excepting Byblos, submitted to Megabyzus, and since the place (i.e. Byblos) seemed impregnable, Megabyzus came to terms with Inaros and the Greeks, who numbered more than 6,000: no harm would come to them at the hands of the king and the Greeks could return to their homeland whenever they wished. (35) He (Megabyzus) set up (S)arsamas as satrap of Egypt, and taking with him Inaros and the Greeks, he led (them) to Artaxerxes, whom he found in a great rage (directed) against Inaros because he had killed his brother Achaemenes. Megabyzus explained what had happened, stating that he had taken Byblos thanks to the guarantees given to Inaros and the Greeks. He entreated the king to protect them (lit. to leave them safe) and he obtained it (i.e the king's agreement). Finally it was announced to the army that Inaros and the Greeks would suffer no harm. Persika 32-35 (italics mine)[400]

Ktesias goes on to describe the machinations of the queen mother Arestis, the mother of Achaemenes, as she attempted to secure a more fitting punishment for those who had slain her son. Five years later she had her way. Inaros was crucified and 80 Greek officers were beheaded. The fate of the balance of the 6,000 Greeks can only be conjectured.

The two versions are in essential agreement as to the course of the rebellion. First there was a land and sea battle won by Inaros with Athenian help. Then followed a siege at Memphis (omitted by Ktesias) and "afterwards" a responsive land and sea invasion by Megabyzus, lost by the Greek/Egyptian coalition. Thucydides supplies the time frame; Ktesias the statistics which indicate the scale of the conflict.

At this point the two versions appear to differ. According to Thucydides, Inaros and the Greeks fled to an "island" location, a land mass separated from the mainland by a canal. According to Ktesias they fled to a well fortified town called Byblos. Some time passed - there is no reason to doubt the 1 1/2 years suggested by Thucydides - until the capture, or surrender, of Inaros and his Greek allies. In one version (Thucydides) Inaros is taken captive and subsequently killed; in the other (Ktesias) he wilfully surrenders and only years later is martyred.

Are these versions really different?

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[400] Translated (with infrequent recourse to the Greek text provided) from the French version of R. Henry, Ctesias La Perse, L'Inde: Les Sommaires de Photius (1947) pp. 35-37.

It can be argued that the two Greek historians are accurately describing the same event. If the fortified city (Byblos) lies on an "island" (Prosopitis) there is no fundamental disagreement. It defies reason how an island location, otherwise unfortified, could be defended against a vastly superior naval and land force for more than a few days, if all that the attacking army needed to do was cross a canal. Ktesias must preserve the greater part of the truth. Inaros and his Greek allies must have found sanctuary in an established sea port. The island must have been home to a fortified town, known to Ktesias as Byblos. But if so, then where is Byblos, the sanctuary of Inaros and the Greeks?

The name *Byblos* is not Egyptian. It is, of course, the identical name given the Phoenician port city on the Mediterranean coast which served as a base for the Persian fleet. Perhaps the Egyptian site name was unknown to Ktesias who therefore refers to it as the (Egyptian) Byblos, an appropriate epithet since the Egyptian locale also served as a base for a foreign fleet. But the question remains, what is the Egyptian name of the island sanctuary to which the Athenians fled, accompanied by Inaros and his Egyptian troops. The answer is reasonably certain. Where else should the Athenian naval force seek sanctuary in the wake of heavy losses in the vicinity of Memphis, than its naval base of operations within Egypt during the preceding years of the rebellion. And that port city was arguably Naucratis, a town founded specifically by Inaros to service his Greek allies (see below for the argument). Located on the east bank of the Canopic branch of the Nile, north of the Rosetta tributary, it lies on an "island" bordered on the west and east by the Canopic and Rosetta branches and on the north by the Mediterranean. And it lay in the extreme north-west of the Delta, bordering Libya, whence escaped a number of the Greek defenders before the truce was negotiated.

Even the two versions of Inaros' fate can be reconciled. Thucydides was correct. Inaros was taken captive after a prolonged siege of the "island" base, and he was subsequently crucified. Ktesias provides more detail. Inaros was taken captive after a negotiated plea bargain, and his execution followed his capture by five years.

There remains for us only to identify Amyrtaeus, who survived the 454 B.C. siege of Naucratis and continued the rebellion for another five years. If our revision of Egyptian history is correct there can be little doubt that the name *Amyrtaeus* is an epithet for *Apries*. We cite the following reasons for this identification:

1) Ktesias specifically states that the rebellion was stirred up by "Inaros, a Libyan, *and another Egyptian*", whose name is not provided. It is known from Thucydides and others that Amyrtaeus fought with Inaros prior to his capture and alone for the remaining years of the rebellion. Scholars are in agreement that Amyrtaeus was the "other Egyptian" referred to by Ktesias. But we have previously argued that Apries was the acknowledged king of Egypt throughout the rebellion, and that his battles on land and sea against Tyre and Sidon must have been fought as an ally of Inaros. There is therefore a strong presumption that Apries was a co-leader of the rebellion. It follows that Apries = Amyrtaeus.

2) Apries and Amyrtaeus both ended their careers in 449 B.C.. As we will soon see, both were engaged that year in physical warfare against the Egyptian establishment in an attempt to regain power they had previously lost. Both battles were fought in the extreme north western delta and in both cases Apries and Amyrtaeus invited the assistance of the Greeks, who responded by sending a naval force. This coincidence of dates and circumstances is simply too remarkable to overlook. In and of itself it argues strongly, not only for the identification of Apries and Amyrtaeus, but also for the reliability of the revised history. The details are discussed below in our treatment of the Elephantine stela inscription.

3) The epithet Amyrtaeus (probably from mery-tauw = "beloved of the two lands") was commonly adopted by Egyptian kings. There is nothing which associates the name uniquely with Apries; but then there is nothing which precludes its use either. And there is at least some evidence that the name was commonly used by the descendants of Psamtik II. According to Herodotus, after the death of Amyrtaeus and Inaros, the Persians gave back "sovereign power to Thannyras son of Inaros, and also to Pausiris son of Amyrtaeus" this in spite of the fact that "none ever did the Persians more harm than Inaros and Amyrtaeus" (Her. 3.15.4) Scholars argue that the second Amyrtaeus, the successor of Darius II and sole occupant of Manetho's 28th dynasty (404-399 B.C.), must be the son of this Pausiris and therefore grandson of the Amyrtaeus who assisted Inaros in the Egyptian rebellion. And since the 28th dynasty Amyrtaeus is described by Diodorus as "Psammetichus, king of the Egyptians, son [= descendant] of the famous Psammetichus", he must trace his ancestry back to Psamtik II. For the traditional history to be true this connection with Psamtik II must look back in time almost two hundred years, an unlikely circumstance! But in the revised history the 28th dynasty Amyrtaeus must be the son of Pausiris, son of Amyrtaeus (=Apries), son of Psamtik II. Only seventy years, or four generations, separate the second Amyrtaeus from his great-grandfather Psamtik II. If two immediate descendants of Psamtik II bear the name Amyrtaeus we should not be surprised that Apries was one of them.

The Final Years of Apries According to Herodotus

If we are correct in our identifications, then power was wrested from Apries, alias Amyrtaeus, in 454 B.C.. In the eyes of the priesthood and the majority of Egyptians he remained the legitimate king, but in reality he was a fugitive, excluded from power, and confined to the extreme north-western delta following the battle of Prosopitis/Naucratis. It may even be that he left Egypt entirely and sought sanctuary in Libya or Cyrene awaiting further assistance from the Greeks to regain his capital. That assistance, as we have seen, was forthcoming only late in 450 B.C. or early in 449 B.C.. That year, according to the Elephantine stela, Apries, accompanied by a Greek expeditionary force, attempted to regain a foothold in the western Delta, where a Persian appointee named Amasis now held power.

Prior to the discovery of the Elephantine stela (now commonly called the Amasis stela) the story of the "civil war" between Apries and Amasis was preserved only by Herodotus. Herodotus' version of events has been discounted by most scholars - since it conflicts in its broad details with the data of the Amasis stela - but it does preserve some interesting detail and needs to be examined.

According to Herodotus, near the end of his reign "Apries sent an army against Cyrene and there he met with a very great defeat." The failed expedition proved fatal. Its failure resulted in a loss of popular support. "For this the Egyptians held him (ie. Apries) to blame, suspecting that he had knowingly sent his men to certain destruction, so that after their slaughter he might rule more securely over the rest of his people. Thus inflamed, those who came home, supported by the friends of those who had perished in Cyrene, openly revolted from him." (Her. II.162). When Apries sent an official named Amasis to placate the angry returnees, those same troops crowned him as king.

> When he heard of the revolt, Apries sent Amasis to win over the malcontents. When he met them and was endeavouring to persuade them, an Egyptian standing behind him put a helmet on his head, saying that he did so to make him king. This was not displeasing to Amasis, as the event showed, for being crowned by the rebels, he made ready to attack Apries. When the king heard of it, he sent Patarbemis, a man of repute and one of his advisers, to bring Amasis alive into his presence. (Her. II.162)

Needless to say the diplomatic initiative failed and served instead to intensify the popular sentiment against him. When Patarbemis[401] returned to Sais, having failed in his mission, he was unjustly treated by Apries, further angering the Egyptian malcontents. Apries prepared for war against his former subjects.

> In this fresh misfortune, Apries armed his bodyguard for war and led them against the Egyptians. With him were thirty thousand Carians and Ionians; and his royal palace was in Sais, a great and magnificent building. So the forces of Apries marched against the Egyptian, and those of Amasis against the foreigners, until they met at Momemphis and prepared for a trial of strength. Her. II.163.

The ensuing battle was fought in neutral territory.

> When Apries with his guard and Amasis with all the Egyptians came to the city of Momemphis, they fought; and though the foreigners behaved well, they were fewer by far in number, and for that reason were defeated. It is said that Apries believed that he could not be dispossessed of his kingdom even by a god, so firmly did he think himself established. And yet in this battle he was

[401] We wonder if the name preserves a memory of some action on the part of king Pedubast, also a participant in the Inaros rebellion. If so, the memory is significantly distorted.

> overthrown and afterwards taken captive to Sais, to the palace that once was his but now belonged to Amasis. There he was kept for a time and was treated well; but then the Egyptians found fault with the new king for keeping alive their worst enemy and his. So Amasis delivered him up to the people, and they strangled him and entombed him in the sepulchre of his forefathers. (Her. II.169)

So much for Herodotus, whose version of events is contradicted in several important details by the Elephantine (Amasis) stela discussed below. When the Amasis stela describes the same battle it is Amasis, not Apries, who is ensconced in Sais. Apries is the aggressor, leading an assault from without. Herodotus is apparently confused about who was challenging who for power. But he does preserve many essential features of the Amasis' succession, confirmed by the Amasis stela, and necessarily true if we have correctly positioned this battle in the early months of 449 B.C.. There *was* a battle between Apries/Amyrtaeus and the Egyptian establishment. Apries *was* assisted by a large contingent of Greek infantry. And the assault *did take place* in the northwestern Delta. These are precisely the actions of Amyrtaeus against the Persians in the early months of 449 B.C. in the tradition preserved by Thucydides.

Thucydides does not describe the activities of the 60 Greek vessels sent to assist Amyrtaeus in 450/49 B.C.. Nor does he mention the fate of Amyrtaeus. According to him the Athenian fleet exited Egypt soon after arriving and apparently without extensive losses. These facts are not in conflict with Herodotus who preserves only a summary account of the battle, and avoids any statistics regarding loss of life and property.. According to his *History* "though the foreigners behaved well, they were fewer by far in number, and for that reason were defeated." It is certainly possible that the Greeks aborted the battle soon after it began, when confronted by a much larger Egyptian force. The few thousands of troops carried by sixty ships, augmented by whatever army remained to Amyrtaeus, was hardly a match for the Egyptian/Persian alliance.

Herodotus has apparently confused the roles of the participants in the battle. Otherwise his story can be reconciled with the Thucydides version of the Amyrtaeus/Greek alliance of 449 B.C.. The pseudo-Herodotus is apparently privy to a tradition that the two kings Amasis and Apries contested for power, Apries supported by Greek soldiers and Amasis by native Egyptians. Since Apries was the recognized king it was natural for Herodotus to assume that he, not Amasis, resided in the capital city, and that Amasis was the challenger, invading from without the capital. His error is fortunately set right by details on the Elephantine stela to which we briefly direct our attention.

The Final Years of Apries According to the Elephantine Stela

Breasted refers to this stela as "perhaps the most important document of the Saitic period." Originally found as part of a doorway of a house in Cairo, and now located in

the Cairo Museum, it is "unfortunately, so badly preserved that a consecutive translation is totally impossible".[402] In spite of the stated "impossibility", a complete translation was provided by Daressy[403], its first editor, and Breasted himself provides a fairly comprehensive treatment. Other noteworthy translations of selected portions of the text occurred throughout the last century, the most recent by Anthony Leahy[404], following Edel[405]. According to Leahy:

> The Elephantine stela is the one extant Egyptian source to describe any facet of the civil war explicitly... It is self-evidently a partial, retrospective account from the victor's standpoint, which makes no reference to the manner in which he [Amasis] became king, but begins its narrative with Amasis already installed at Sais.... there is no justification for supposing that the dates given are not those of the events described.[406].

The text is composed in eighteen columns. Columns 1-13 and columns 14-18 bear different dates and clearly describe different battles, not separate phases of the same conflict. The dates are in fact the most controversial and contested aspect of the entire inscription. According to Daressy and Breasted the two inscriptions, and therefore the two incidents they describe, took place in Amasis' third year, the first in the tenth month and the second in the third month of that same year. In their opinion the two inscriptions describe different phases of the same battle. By the end of the 20th century opinion has radically changed. According to Edel and Leahy the first columns describe a conflict in Amasis' 1st year while the second inscription describes a distinct military encounter, unrelated to the earlier battle, and dated to Amasis' 4th year. We follow, for the most part, this recent interpretation. According to Leahy:

> The extreme difficulties in recovering a full text from the very worn stone are reflected by the fact that Daressy's pioneering effort remains the only published copy of the whole inscription. Misreading of the dates on the stela has undermined most previous discussions, but Edel has now established the sense of a substantial part of the text and, most importantly, shown that the correct readings of the two dates on the stela are 'year 1" and 'year 4' respectively (collated). It is unusual in recording two events which, although related, took place nearly two and a half years apart. The essence of the two sections is as follows:
> Year one, II šmw: Amasis, in his palace at Sais, was informed that Apries, accompanied by boats filled with Greeks (h'w-nbw) had reached Sht-mfkt (Kom Abu Billu?). Amasis set forth and routed the opposition at 'Im'w (Kom

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[402] BAR IV 996 (p. 509)
[403] G. Daressy, "Stele De L'An III D'Amasis," RT 22 (1900) 1-9.
[404] Anthony Leahy, "The Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis and the End of the Reign of Apries," JEA 74 (1988) 183-199.
[405] Elmar Edel, "Amasis und Nebukadrezar II," GM 29 (1978) 13-20.
[406] Leahy, op.cit., pp. 189-190.

el-Hisn). Nothing is said of the fate of Apries, but measures were taken against his earlier base

Year four, III 'ht 8: an Asiatic (sttiw) invasion of Egypt by land and sea was defeated at an unspecified place, probably near the eastern frontier. Apries, who apparently accompanied the foreign force, did not survive and was honourably buried.[407]

Amasis 1st Year

Our primary interest is in the first of the two inscriptions. For reference we quote Breasted's partial translation, with commentary, correcting only the year date:

Year 1 [Petrie has year 3]*, second month of the third season (tenth month), under the majesty of King Amasis, beloved of Khnum, lord of the Cataract, and Hathor, residing in Zeme (D'-mw.t), given all life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever ....*

Here follows the statement that his majesty was in the palace-hall, deliberating the affairs of the land, when

one came to say to his majesty: "Apries (H''-yb-R'), he has sailed southward --- ships of [---] while Greeks without number are coursing through the Northland [-----] They are wasting all Egypt; they have reached Malachite-Field, and those who are of thy party flee because of them." Then his majesty caused the royal companions and [---] to be called, and informed them of what had happened.

He addressed them with reassuring exhortations (ll.5-7), and they replied with praise of Amasis, declaring that Apries had acted like a dog at a carcass (ll.7-10) *Said his majesty: "Ye shall fight tomorrow! Every man (hr-nb) to the front!" His majesty mustered his infantry and his cavalry - - -. His majesty mounted upon his chariot; he took arrows and bow in his hand, he arrived ([spr-nf]) at [-], he reached Andropolis, the army jubilating and rejoicing on the road.* The introduction to the battle is totally unintelligible. There follows (l. 12): *His majesty fought like a lion, he made a slaughter among them, whose number was unknown. Numerous ships [took] ('w') them, falling into the water, whom they saw sink as do the fish.* Amasis triumphed. BAR IV 1002-1005

[407] Ibid., p. 190

The essential agreement between the Elephantine inscription and the narrative of Thucydides is remarkable. We highlight only a few features not clear from Breasted's translation:

1) The first inscription is dated to the tenth month of Amasis first year. We assume that the date records when the inscription was made, not when the battle occurred. The battle must therefore have taken place several months earlier, i.e. early in 449 B.C. If so then the Elephantine inscription records a correct version of the same battle of which Herodotus preserves a distorted version. According to Leahy "There can be no doubt that it is [the same as] those crucial, initial stages which Herodotus and Diodorus record, although the Greek accounts of the usurpation are not easily reconciled with that of the stela."[408]

2) The battle took place in the extreme north-western Delta, in the vicinity of Naucratis, precisely where we would expect if Apries/Amyrtaeus was confined to the marshes further to the north along the Canopic branch of the Nile. The early section of the inscription, much of which Breasted leaves untranslated, is described more fully in Darresy's edition. It states explicitly that the Greeks who are assisting Apries are based in the vicinity of Naucratis:

> Apries has (left). He (leads) the vessels which (have departed). Greeks without number traverse the northland. It is as if they have no master to govern them. *He [Apries] has summoned them and they have accepted.* The king had assigned them a residence in the Pehu An: They infest all of Egypt. They have reached Sekhet-Mafek, everything that is in your territory (lit. in your waters) runs away from them.(italics mine)[409]

Daressy equates the Pehu An with Naucratis.[410]

3) If Daressy's translation is reliable then the Greeks who assisted Apries are there by special invitation. The stela considers the fact worth mentioning. The same emphasis is placed by Thucydides on the fact that the flotilla which arrived in Egypt to assist Amyrtaeus was responding to a invitation by the deposed Egyptian king.

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[408] Ibid., p. 191

[409] Daressy, op.cit., p. 3. "Apries (l. 3) est (parti), il (guide) les vaisseaux qui (ont passe). Des Grecs dont on ne sait le nombre parcourent le Nord, c'est comme s'il n'y avait pas de maitre pour gouverner: il les a appeles, eux l'ont (accueilli). Le roi leur avait assigne une residence (l. 4) dans le Pehu An: ils infestent l'Egypte en son etendue, ils atteignent Sekhet-Mafek, tout ce qui est en ton eau s'enfuit d'eux."

[410] Ibid. pp. 7,8. "Si j'ai bien lu, leur residence devait etre dans le pehu an, c'est-a-dire le bas pays du troisieme nome de la Basse-Egypte, celui de l'Occident, (hireglyph for west), dont la capitale etait Andropolis, is est, des lors, fort probable qu'on veut partler de Naucratis, qui est a vingt kilometres de Kherbeta (Andropolis); mais cette hypothese ne va pas sans soulever plusieurs questions."

4) The same passage which Breasted translated *"Apries (H''-yb-R'), he has sailed southward --- ships of [---] while Greeks without number."* and Daressy translates *"Apries has (left). He (leads) the vessels which (have departed). Greeks without number ..."* is now translated by Edel as *"Apries - the island (sent out?) for him vessels completely filled with H'w-nbw (= Greek soldiers), without number."*[411] Edel also sees reference to an "island" in the final line of the first inscription, in a statement which he translates: *"Then his majesty encircled the island on all sides."*[412] Edel attempted to identify this "island" with Cyprus, arguing that the Greek troops which Apries has called to assist him were based in that location and that Amasis in the later stages of the battle actually ventured to attack Cyprus. But the battle is clearly local. Leahy points out that the first reference to island (iw) has a possessive suffix (iw.f = his island) which Edel ignores. If the translation is correct then Apries is in possession of the island which serves as a base of operations for his Greek allies. In Leahy's opinion all that can be determined from the inscription is that Amasis, after defeating Apries (and the Greeks who assisted him), "took some sort of action against this island base."[413]

We recall our earlier argument that Naucratis was a fortified camp on the island of Prosopitis, lost to Inaros in 454 B.C.. It is probable that this is the "island" base from which Apries launched his assault against Amasis. We assume that in the early stages of this final phase of the Egyptian rebellion Amyrtaeus, assisted by the Greek vessels dispatched by Cimon, had succeeded in reclaiming the "island" and the city Naucratis. Then followed the abbreviated battle with Amasis and a retreat to the sanctuary of Naucratis, against which Amasis "took some sort of action.". If Thucydides is describing the same incident, we must assume that the Greek ships fled Naucratis, exited the Egyptian Delta and rejoined the main Greek fleet near Cyprus.

Amasis' 4th Year

It is the opinion of Leahy, following Edel, that after the battle of year 1, "Apries escaped and must have gone abroad", based on the fact that "only Amasis is attested in Egypt between then and year 4."[414] According to him the second section of the Elephantine stela describes an entirely different conflict. Where the first thirteen columns describe a civil war involving Greek troops, columns 14-18 describe an Asiatic invasion. "The stela distinguishes clearly between the opponents of Amasis. In year 1, they were *h'w-nbw* [Greeks] in *kbnt* boats, in year 4 they were *sttiw* [Asiatics] in *'h'w* boats."

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[411] Edel, op.cit., p. 19. "Der Apries - die Insel (=Cypern) setzt fur ihn Seeschiffe uber gefullt mit h'w-nbw (=griechischen Soldern), deren Zahl man nicht kennt."
[412] Ibid. "Dann liess Seine Majestat die Insel (=Cypern) auf jeder Seite einschliessen (?)".
[413] Leahy, op.cit., p. 193.
[414] Ibid.

The observation that the final columns of the Amasis stela describe a foreign invasion originates with the Egyptologist Spalinger, who provides the most detailed argument:

> But it is the entire narrative of this second section on the historical stela (cols. 14-18) which is most important. The enemy of Amasis is depicted in a different light than Apries. For one, the ships employed by Amasis' opponents are different: being simple 'h'w vessels instead of the kbnt boats which Apries' Greek mercenaries employed. Secondly, the enemy is not specified by name, as Apries is in the opening sections. In this latter passage, the text states that "...thousands are there, invading (thm) the land. They cover every road. Those who are in 'h'w vessels, they have taken up (?) ... in their hearts" (col. 14) The following description is very difficult to read, owing to the faulty text publication. However, after an oath before the battle, the Pharaoh urged his troops forward (col. 16: "then his majesty summoned his troops, shouting upwards ..."). It appears that a storm took place ... during which the enemy ships were defeated (col. 17: "their ships were overturned"). The use of the third person plural in this section (.sn: "they" or "their") by the scribe of the stela when depicting Amasis' enemy is quite different from the opening narrative; it definitely indicates that Apries is not the foe of Amasis. For in fact, the use of the verb *thm*, "to invade," "to overstep," and "to penetrate," would imply that an enemy whose origin lay outside Egypt invaded Amasis' territory. It may even be possible to read "the ruler of Asia" (hk' st[t]) in column seventeen of the stela; however, this is very speculative. (In any case, the title *hk'*, if it is correctly read, cannot refer to Apries as the latter is in this stela either specifically named or given the epithet mh-ib.) Thus it is rather clear that the final columns of the historical stela refer to a war between Amasis and an unnamed foreign foe.[415]

It was the opinion of Spalinger, followed later by Edel, then by Leahy, that the unnamed foreign foe was Nebuchadrezzar, an opinion based entirely on the traditional history which synchronized the early years of Amasis and the Babylonian invasion predicted by the biblical prophets. It was also the opinion of these scholars that Apries had fled Egypt following the first battle, only to return in league with the Babylonians to wage war on Amasis. But there is no need and no warrant to conjecture an invasion from outside Egypt. Nor is there any reason to assume that Apries continued to be the opponent of Amasis. In the revised history the Persians are the rulers of Egypt. Amasis was a Persian appointee. His earlier fight against Apries and the Greeks must have been sanctioned by, if not ordered by, the Persian authority in Memphis. This second conflict must be between Amasis and the Persians, not between Amasis and the Babylonians. And Apries is not the opponent of Amasis. He is now an ally. Perhaps Amasis' conflict with the ruling Persians was precipitated by the favourable treatment he afforded the captive Apries, or by his refusal to turn Apries over to the Persians. In support of this

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[415] A.J. Spalinger, *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptologists* (1979) p. 596.

conjecture we make the following observations:

1) Herodotus preserves the tradition that Apries was taken captive by Amasis and kept under house arrest for some time in Sais, apparently enjoying good favor with Amasis. There are several conflicting traditions concerning Apries' subsequent violent death, but unanimity in representing Amasis as a friend of his defeated political rival.

2) Amasis' treatment of Apries in the second battle described on the Elephantine stela is likewise entirely positive. He appears to be fighting with, not against, his former antagonist. We quote Breasted's partial translation in support of this claim:

> *Year 4 [Breasted reads year 3] third month of the first season (third month), day 8, [came] one to say to his majesty: " The enemy infest the ways, there are thousands there, invading the land; they cover every road. As for those who are in the ships, [they bear hatred of thee in their hearts] without ceasing."* Amasis then gave his troops instructions to scour *"every road, not letting a day pass,"* without pressing the enemy (ll. 15,16); whereupon the army greatly rejoiced, and proceeded to their task (l. 16). The enemy's ships were taken (l. 17) and Apries was probably surprised and slain while taking his ease on one of the vessels. *"He (Amasis) saw his favorite fallen in his --- which he had made before the water."* Amasis had him buried as befitted a king, forgot the *"abomination of the gods,"* which he had committed, and *"he (Amasis) founded divine offerings in great multitude,"* for the mortuary observances of the fallen Apries. BAR 1006-7 (italics mine)

3) The reference to "the ruler of Asia" (hk' St(t)) in line seventeen of the Amasis stela (mentioned by Spalinger but in a section not quoted by Breasted) is arguably a reference to a Persian king, not a Babylonian monarch. This was the interpretation given the phrase "prince of Asia" in Samtoutefnakht's Naples' stela and at least one Egyptologist has argued for that meaning in the Elephantine inscription.[416]

4) It is generally assumed that Amasis won the battle, but there is no certainty of that fact. These five columns of text, affixed as a postscript to the description of an earlier conflict, hardly qualify as a suitable context in which to boast of victory over a powerful foreign army, whether Babylonian or Persian. The fact that Apries died in the conflict is at least suggestive of the fact that Amasis' brief attempt at rebellion, or resistance, ended in failure. It is not surprising that Amasis was left in office by the Persians. If Herodotus is to be believed, and if we are correct in our identification of Apries and Amyrtaeus, even Pausiris, a son of Apries/Amyrtaeus, was given a position of authority following Apries' death. The Persians were noted for their willingness to forgive defeated rebels, providing the loser was sufficiently humbled.

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[416] Spalinger, op.cit. p.603, n.34 cites Redford, Orientalia 39 (1970) 10-14 and Clere, RdE 6 (1951) 152-153 (the latter referring to the hk' S't = the king of Persia). These references have not been checked.

Postscript

According to Herodotus, corrected and informed by the Elephantine stela, Apries, son of Psamtik II, early in the year 570 B.C. (according to the traditional history), fought a losing battle with Amasis in an attempt to regain his sovereignty over Egypt. He requested and received the help of Greek mercenaries, who manned sea-faring *kbnt* boats. The rebels controlled an island naval base in the extreme north-western Delta. From that base of operations the allies proceeded upriver toward Memphis. The ensuing battle was concluded quickly, with minimal losses, and the Greek army retreated from the scene. Three years later Amasis and Apries appear to be united in conflict with a ruler of Asia, identified elsewhere as a king of Persia.

According to Thucydides, informed by Ktesias and others, Amyrtaeus, ally of (and probably brother of) Inaros son of Psammetichus (Psamtik II), early in the year 449 B.C., engaged an apparently losing battle with the Persian rulers of the Egyptian Delta in an attempt to regain territory lost earlier in the Egyptian rebellion. He requested and received the help of Greek mercenaries who manned sea-faring vessels. The rebels controlled an island naval base in the extreme north-western Delta. We assume that from that base of operations the allies advanced up the Canopic branch of the Nile toward Memphis. Details of the encounter are not preserved, but within months of their arrival the Greek naval forces retreated from Egypt and rejoined the Athenian fleet in the Mediterranean. Within a year a peace was concluded between Athens and Persia, leaving the surviving Egyptian rebels to live for another day. If Amyrtaeus were to continue his struggle to liberate Egypt from Persia, he would necessarily have to battle the Persians one more time, this time without the assistance of Athens.

It is curious, to say the least, that two apparently identical sets of circumstances prevailed in Egypt, involving the same family, separated in time by precisely 121 years. But by now we are used to this sort of curiosity.

Naucratis

The lengthy 44 year reign of Amasis is well documented. Many of his public officials left detailed inscriptions recording their activity, for the most part related to tax collecting and building. It was indeed a prosperous era and that prosperity was in large measure due to extensive foreign trade. Greek influence is particularly noticeable and Naucratis, the Greek cultural and trade center on the Canopic branch of the Nile was particularly prominent. It is unfortunate that not a single document in those many decades provides a synchronism with the outside world. Were we not informed otherwise by Egyptologists and historians, we might be tempted to believe that Amasis ruled in the latter half of the 5th century, when the Mediterranean was opened to Greek

and Phoenician commerce by the peace of Callias.

According to Herodotus, one of the first official acts of Amasis was to set up a census bureau, undoubtedly with a view to taxation. This is not an unexpected move, since we argue that the primary focus of Amasis' tenure in office was the collection of tribute for his Persian overlords. To facilitate the collection of taxes, nomarchs, or local princes, were assigned limited authority. Among their ranks must be placed Pausiris and Thannyras, sons of Amyrtaeus and Inaros. Pedubast may still be alive and active. The country prospered.

> It is said that in the reign of Amasis Egypt attained to its greatest prosperity, in respect of what the river did for the land and the land for its people; and that the whole sum of inhabited cities in the country was twenty thousand. It was Amasis also who made the law that every Egyptian should yearly declare his means of livelihood to the *ruler of his province*, and, failing so to do, or to prove that he had a just way of life, be punished with death. Her. II.177

The greater part of Egypt's prosperity did not derive, however, from taxation of income, but rather from duties applied to commercial imports. It was Amasis second official act to issue a directive insisting that all Mediterranean commerce with Egypt be channelled through the port at Naucratis, where goods were taxed at the exorbitant rate of 10%.

> Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to dwell in, and to those who voyaged to the country without desire to settle there he gave lands where they might set altars and make holy places for their gods. ... Naucratis was in old time the only trading port in Egypt. Whosoever came to any other mouth of the Nile must swear that he had not come of his own will, and having so sworn must then take his ship and sail to the Canopic mouth; or, if he could not sail against contrary winds, he must carry his cargo in barges round the Delta till he came to Naucratis. In such honour was Naucratis held. Her. II.178-79

Scholars debate the reasons for Amasis' admiration for the Greeks and the prominence given to the port at Naucratis, but we know the answer. For the previous decade Egypt had looked to the Athenians based in Naucratis as their last hope for national independence. Those hopes soon faded but the veneration of the site and the admiration of the Greeks remained for centuries.

It is precisely in Amasis' reign that Naucratis assumed a prominent position in the monuments and the national literature, so much so that it is believed by many scholars that the city was actually founded by the Saite king. If so it is interesting to note that there exists no certain reference to the existence of Naucratis in the early part of the 1st Persian domination. Did the site flourish during the reign of Amasis (570-526 B.C. in the traditional history) then fade from prominence for almost a century, only to emerge

from its dormancy late in the 4th century?

If the revised history is correct then Naucratis was not founded by Amasis as a means of controlling foreign commerce, but by Inaros as a base of operations for the Athenian fleet he had summoned to his aid during the initial phase of the Egyptian rebellion. It is probable that the Athenians first had to wrest control of the site from the ruling Persians. In fact, that is precisely the tradition passed down for centuries to the geographer Strabo. In his lengthy description of the various tributaries of the Nile River Delta he states:

> Their mouths indeed afford entrance to boats, but are adapted, not to large boats, but to tenders only, because the mouths are shallow and marshy. It is chiefly, however, the Canopic mouth that they used as an emporium, since the harbours at Alexandria were kept closed, as I have said before. After the Bolbitine mouth one comes to a low and sandy promontory which projects rather far into the sea; it is called Agnu-Ceras. And then to the Watch-tower of Perseus and the Wall of the Milesians; for in the time of Psammitichus ... the Milesians, with thirty ships, put in at the Bolbitine mouth, and then, disembarking, fortified with a wall the above-mentioned settlement; but in time they sailed up into the Saitic Nome, defeated the city of Inaros in a naval fight, and founded Naucratis, not far above Schedia. After the Wall of the Milesians, as one proceeds towards the Sebennytic mouth, one comes to ... Strabo XVII.33

It is clear from this tradition that at some unspecified time after the Milesians founded their enclave on the Bolbitine branch of the Nile, migrant Greeks also founded Naucratis. The fact that force was required suggests that a naval force was involved. We need not trust every detail of this tradition - Strabo is four hundred years removed from the event he describes - but there is no reason to disregard its essential accuracy. Naucratis was established only after a military confrontation. And the founding of the city occurred in the time of Inaros. Needless to say Egyptologists dispute the fact, since Inaros postdates the time of Amasis by over a century. Alan Lloyd is typical of the prevailing interpretation of Strabo:

> Further details are found in Strabo who tells us that in the reign of Psammetichus I Milesians came to Egypt with 30 ships and founded a settlement called "the Milesian Wall" on the Bolbitinic Mouth of the Nile. After an unspecified interval ... they moved up-stream, defeated someone call Inarus in a sea-battle - doubtless a Dodecarch - and then founded the city of Naucratis - the city which was for 300 years to be the centre of Greek trade and civilization in Egypt. The tradition of a battle with the local population before Naucratis could be founded is also found in Aristagoras of Miletus (FrgH 608, F. 8) who informs us that the Naucratites had to fight all Egyptian cities on their way upstream except Gynaecospolis which lay opposite Naucratis on the west bank of the Nile. Few would wish to accept this account in its entirety but it would surely be rash to deny that Aristagoras is preserving a tradition that the Greeks who founded Naucratis had had to fight. Indeed the statements of Strabo

> and Aristagoras fit very neatly together. Inarus is a name which, though thoroughly Egyptian, is associated with Libya whilst Gynaecospolis lies to the west of the westernmost branch of the Nile in an area whose Libyan affinities are strongly emphasized by Herodotus (II, 18) and whose northern part is actually described in Ptolemy as the Libyan Nome. We have, therefore, considerable justification in accepting that the arrival of the Milesians at Naucratis involved them somehow or other, in putting down trouble along the western frontier of the Delta. What was the date?[417]

Lloyd is almost entirely correct. We question only two aspects of his discussion. There is no need to defend Strabo's statement that the Greeks who conquered Naucratis came from Miletus, an association not preserved in Aristagoras. And we wonder why Lloyd misrepresents Strabo regarding the city's connection with Inaros. The Greek text does not say that the Milesians fought with Inaros. It states only that the defeated city was known as "the city of Inaros", and that its founding involved military conflict. As to the date when the port city was founded we observe that Lloyd ignores the obvious connection with the 5th century Inaros and seeks to establish a possible foundation date antedating the time of Amasis in the sixth century. He restricts to a footnote, with minimal comment, the fact that at least one scholar (Richter) "thinks that he (the Inaros mentioned by Strabo) must be the famous Inaros of the Athenian Expedition!"[418]

Were it not for the errant dating of the Saite dynasty there would have been no question that the Inarus of Strabo and the Inaros who led the Egyptian rebellion are one and the same person. The name is otherwise unknown in Egypt. Strabo is clearly referring to a man of sufficient notoriety that his identity requires no further explanation. And we have already argued that the city of Naucratis was founded in the time of Inaros and in a climate of conflict between the Egyptian rebel and the ruling Persians. It is not surprising that the site on which the city was built was obtained through military action.

If Strabo is correct, and Naucratis acquired its prominence (and very likely it's name) only in the mid 5th century B.C.; and if our revision is correct and Amasis' involvement with the city followed immediately the Inaros rebellion; then all chronological problems connected with the site disappear entirely. Strabo can be accepted at face value. The fact that the name is unknown in the preceding decades of the 1st Persian domination is precisely what is expected. The honour accorded the Greek seaport by subsequent generations of Egyptians is perfectly understandable. The fact that Greek vessels were denied access elsewhere into the Persian province, where they posed a military threat, and were restricted to that single remote location, also follows naturally. It is unfortunate that Amasis was removed from his rightful place in history as the successor of Inaros and Amyrtaeus, causing unnecessary confusion. But that historical error need not be perpetuated.

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[417] A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II* (1975), pp. 24,25.
[418] Ibid., p. 24, n. 97.

The Architect Khnemibre

We pass without comment from the beginning to the final years of the reign of Amasis, and from the Egyptian Delta to a remote mountainous region east of Thebes in Upper Egypt. There on the walls of the famous Hammamat quarry we find a perplexing series of graffiti inscribed by the chief architect of Egypt under the Amasis regime, himself a namesake of the king - Khnemibre. A sequence of eleven graffiti, all in the same vicinity, and most bearing dates of the ruling king, combine to suggest that this official exercised his duties under both Amasis and Darius I over a span of at minimum 35 years.[419] To be specific, one inscription records his activities in the quarry in the 44th year of Amasis, and the others in the years 26-30 of a king Darius. In the traditional history there is no question that the Darius named in the inscriptions is Darius I. The Amasis inscription must originate from the year 527 B.C.[420] and the Darius inscriptions from the years 496-492 B.C. Needless to say, if these inscriptions have been properly understood by scholars, and Khnemibre functioned under successive kings Amasis and Darius, then we are mistaken in our proposed revision of Egyptian history. All has been for naught. In the revised history Darius I died forty years before the reign of Amasis began. Darius II was a contemporary, but not a successor, of Amasis. How do we answer the critics?

We begin by quoting the year 44 inscription:

> Year 44 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Khnemibre, son of Ra Ahmose-sa-Neith, who lives eternally, beloved of Neith, mistress of Sais. *The Horus* "Who maintains justice", *the Two Ladies* "Son of Neith, regulator of the two lands", *the Horus of gold* "Chosen by the gods", the *king of Upper and Lower Egypt* Khnemibre, *son of Ra* Ahmose-sa-Neith, who lives eternally, loved by Neith, mistress of Sais.
> The chief of works of the South and North of Egypt, Ahmose-sa-Neith and his eldest son, whom he loves, the chief of works of the South and North of Egypt, Khnemibre, born of the lady Satnefertum, who lives before Min, Horus and Isis of Coptos for eternity.[421] (italics added)

Lest the reader be confused by the repetition of names we point out that the first paragraph lists the full five-fold titulary of Amasis, with duplication of his throne name

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[419] The entire groups of Khnemibre inscriptions is collected in G. Posener, *La Premiere Domination Perse En Egypte* (1936), pp. 88-116. All quotations of the inscriptions are taken from Posener.

[420] In the traditional history Amasis reigned for 44 years from 570-526 B.C., but because the Saite kings used a predating or non-accession year system, the year 570 was reckoned as his 1st and the year 526 as his 45th year. Thus 527 B.C. was the 44th year of this king. In a moment we will challenge the assumption of predating for this king and reckon his last year as his 44th.

[421] Ibid. p. 89.

Khnemibre and his personal name Ahmose-sa-Neith. The second paragraph provides the name of Khnemibre, the chief of works (architect) who is responsible for this genealogical graffiti, and that of his father, also a chief of works, and also a namesake of the king, Ahmose-sa-Neith. Khnemibre also includes the name of his mother Satnefertum.

Throughout this inscription the names Khnemibre and Ahmose, whether those of the king or those of the two chiefs of works, are consistently enclosed in a cartouche. The names are orthographically identical. It appears from this inscription that the architect Ahmose-sa-Neith, father of Khnemibre, is alive and well. It also appears that he has relinquished his active role to his son, a fact which suggests that he is old. If so Khnemibre, identified as his eldest son, must also be up in years, perhaps in his forties or even his fifties.

There is no need here to translate the inscriptions from the Darius years. The problem with their interpretation is related to their dates, not to their content. And that problem should be immediately apparent. It is assumed by Egyptologists that Khnemibre, son of Ahmose-sa-Neith, visited the Hammamat gorge in 527 B.C. (the 44th year of Amasis), recorded his visit in this brief inscription, then disappeared for thirty-one years, only to re-emerge from obscurity in 496 B.C., becoming a frequent visitor to the stone quarry for the next five years. Then silence again. The thirty-one-year interval is problematic enough to call into question this interpretation. The fact that this later activity took place when Khnemibre was seventy or eighty years old, based on the reasonable assumption that he was over forty in the year 44 of Amasis, is enough to discredit the interpretation entirely. To be fair to scholars who support this interpretation, there is no alternative. Restricted by a chronology that regards Darius I as the successor of Amasis this chronology is unavoidable. No alternative explanation is available. But no such restriction holds for the revised history.

In the revised history there exists a perfectly natural way of reading the Khnemibre inscriptions, though the explanation requires some fine tuning of our existing chronology. In the revised history the 44th year of Amasis is the year 406 B.C., this on the assumption that he began his reign in 449 B.C. and used a predating system. But Amasis was a Persian appointee, an interloper. Neither his dates nor his dating system have been precisely determined as they have for his predecessors. We have strong reasons for considering that 448, not 449 B.C. was reckoned as his 1st year.[422] We

[422] The reigns of all of the Saite kings up to but not including the reign of Amasis are precisely dated and linked together by a series of Serapeum stela. But we have already noted the fact that no stela exists to provided specific data for the Khababash bull nor for the hypothetical bull which succeeded it. These are the bulls which would have given precise information regarding the end of the reign of Apries and the beginning of the reign of Amasis. It follows therefore that we are not absolutely sure that the reign of Amasis began in 449 B.C. as opposed to a year earlier or a year later. Nor are we sure if Amasis continued the practice of predating used by the earlier Saite kings or whether he adopted the accession year system of his Persian overlords. When we argue that

proceed on the assumption that this was the case.

According to scholars Darius I died in the year 404 B.C., supposedly after 19 years as sole monarch of Persia in succession to Artaxerxes I. These at least are the data cited by Gardiner, whose dates (424-404 B.C.) we have been following for this king. This would lead us to conclude that Darius outlived Amasis by a single year. But we believe that the reverse situation held, and that Amasis outlived the Persian king by almost a full year. To date we have accepted without question Gardiner's dates for this king. There was no need earlier to engage an argument. But those dates need to be modified slightly to 424-405 B.C., an alteration which will be defended momentarily. We assume that Darius died early in 405 B.C., his 19th year, while Amasis lived through to the end of that same year, and briefly into the next. His 44th year was his last.

When Darius died Egypt rebelled for a third and final time against Persian domination. The struggle for independence thus began with Amasis, now an old man in the last year of his life as a puppet king/Persian official. It continued under Amyrtaeus, son of Pausiris, son of Apries, son of Psamtik II. We will document the struggle in more detail in the next chapter.

With these facts assumed, we propose that the Khnemibre inscriptions which refer to a king Darius belong to the five years immediately preceding, rather than the 26th-30th years following the 44th year of Amasis, and that the Darius in question is Darius II. If the visits were consecutive, a reasonable assumption, then these inscriptions must belong to the years 410-406 B.C. or at most a year or two earlier. In this scenario Khnemibre's visit to the quarry in the 44th year of Amasis (405 B.C.) was the last of a series of visits that began five (or six) years earlier. The visits continued in a unbroken sequence through the last five years of Darius' life and a single year beyond. While Darius was alive Khnemibre used the name of the Persian king in his graffiti datelines. In the single visit which followed Darius' death he used the name and year of Amasis, emphasizing the comprehensive rule of the Saite king, now free from Persian domination.

This scenario answers every problematic aspect of the Khnemibre inscriptions mentioned earlier. But it raises an immediate objection. The Darius inscriptions of the architect Khnemibre are dated to the 26th through the 30th years of the Persian king, while we have stated, with apparent agreement, that Darius II ruled for only nineteen years. If our proposed dates for the Darius inscriptions are correct (410-406 B.C.) then the inscriptions should have referred to the 14th through the 18th years of Darius, not the 26th through 30th. We have solved one problem only to create another, apparently more serious, problem. What is the solution?

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448 B.C. was his 1st year it matters little if we assume his dates were 449-405 B.C. and that he used the Persian accession year system, or 448-405 B.C. with a non-accession year system. In either case we are confident that 448 B.C. was his 1st official year.

Regnal Years of Darius II

When we began this revision we quoted the Egyptologist Alan Gardiner in his observation that "the forty years ending with the death of Darius II in 404 B.C. are a complete blank so far as Egypt is concerned". In fact, those comments are too narrowly construed. The truth is that almost nothing is known of the activities of the Persian kings Artaxerxes I and Darius II, whether within Egypt or elsewhere within the Persian Empire. Inscriptions from the final decades of Artaxerxes I, and the entirety of the reign of Darius II, are all but non-existent. If the reader were to examine any popular history of the Persian period he would be hard pressed to find the name of Darius II in the index, much less in the body of historical discussion. That is a problem that needs to be addressed by scholars. What happened to the documentation that names these kings? Did nothing survive or have the documents of Darius II been misattributed to the earlier Darius? And if so, why?

The fact that Darius II ruled the Persian Empire for upwards of twenty years is known from a single source - a king list attached to the so-called Canon of Ptolemy, a document postdating Darius' reign by several centuries. Two observations follow from this absence of firsthand evidence. The first relates to the absolute dates assigned to Darius II; the second to the schema he used to number his regnal years.

When assigning absolute dates to Darius II two problems confront scholars, namely: 1) when did his reign begin and end?; and 2) how did he number his years? Discussion of the matter lies well beyond the scope of this book. It is sufficient to note here that the nineteen years assigned Darius II by the Canon is consistent with the revised dates we have assigned this king (424-405 B.C.)[423] We will say no more concerning the dates for his tenure as king of Persia.

The numbering of Darius' years is more of a problem, but no more so than the problems related to the regnal years of Cambyses, a matter discussed earlier in this revision. At that time we noted that Egyptologists, in an attempt to explain certain anomalies related to the year numbers of Cambyses, proposed as a solution that the Persian king used several systems for numbering his years. Besides the obvious numeration beginning with his 1st year on the Persian throne, it was conjectured that Cambyses sometimes dated his years beginning with the death of Amasis (neglecting the regnal year of Psamtik III), and

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[423] It would even be possible to assign to Darius the years 423-425 B.C., 423 being his 1st and 425 his 19th year, depending on the system used by the authors of the Canon to number his years. It is admitted by scholars that the "predating of postdating" system adopted by the Canon is artificial and does not represent the system actually used by the Persians. There is therefore ambiguity regarding the reign length of Darius II. This ambiguity extends to the reign of his father Artaxerxes I. When we also take into account the several difficulties related to the precise date when Artaxerxes died and Darius assumed power there can be no strong objection to our earlier proposal that the dates for Darius should be emended slightly.

sometimes beginning with his arrival in Egypt. We have already criticized these proposals as unwarranted and unsubstantiated. But these proposed alternative dating systems do serve to suggest that a similar solution might exist for our problem with the regnal years of Darius II. In fact a perfectly reasonably answer is immediately at hand, and it finds support, coincidentally, from the reign of Cambyses.

Cambyses' Alternative Dating System

What is not mentioned often in current literature is the known fact that Cambyses did in fact have an alternative schema for numbering his regnal years, though not the ones suggested by Egyptologists. In an early edition of the influential *Zeitschrift fur Aegypische Sprache* the Assyriologist E. Schrader discusses at length a cuneiform document originating from Babylon and dated to the 11th year of Cambyses.[424] Since Cambyses' tenure on the Persian throne lasted only slightly over 7 years, the problem with this document is obvious, and is sufficiently serious to have caused another Akkadian specialist, T. Pinches, to question the reliability of the Canon of Ptolemy, since the Canon credits Cambyses with only 7 regnal years. According to Pinches:

> This date overthrowing the perfect agreement of Mr. Boscawen's list with the Canon of Ptolemy ... the author was at first reluctant to accept on account of the number being, as may be seen from the cuneiform text above, so badly written. Soon after the discovery of this tablet, however, another was discovered, bearing the date "11th Tebet, 8th year of Cambyses" making him to reign eight years and three months, instead of seven years and seven … months. This induced the author to test the whole list as given by Mr. Boscawen ... -- It is evident, therefore, that the Canon of Ptolemy, in the face of these unimpeachable witnesses, can not stand"[425]

There is no need to question the length of Cambyses' reign provided by the Canon of Ptolemy. A solution to the problem proposed by Schrader himself is undoubtedly correct. He suggested that the years recorded on these documents refer to Cambyses' years as king of Babylon, not his years as king of Persia. It is known from other sources that Cyrus installed his son, the crown prince Cambyses, as ruler of the province of Babylon, this in the final years of his reign, and undoubtedly with intent to prepare Cambyses for his future responsibilities as head of state. The cuneiform documents that refer to Cambyses' 8th and 11th years, refer to him as "king of Babylon, king of (all) lands", but not specifically as king of Persia. Babylon was by far the dominant province within the Persian Empire, rivalling Persepolis as a national capital, and exempt from taxation as was Parsua. The title "king of (all) lands", used by Cambyses, was employed

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[424] E. Schrader, "Das elfte Jahr des Kambyses," ZAS 17 (1897) 39-45.

[425] Quoted by Schrader in op.cit. p. 41, n. 3. Pinches article can be found in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 2 (1878). The original has not been checked.

by Cyrus himself to speak of his universal reign. Clearly Cambyses conceives himself as the heir apparent of his father and views his tenure in Babylon as a form of joint rule with Cyrus. Accordingly, he legitimately numbers his years from the time of his elevation to that "kingship", at least three years before the death of Cyrus, a system he apparently continued to use even after ascending to the Persian throne.

We are therefore on firm ground when we suggest that a similar system of numbering regnal years was employed by Darius II, who was also installed as "king" of Babylon (by Artaxerxes I), the only other Persian crown prince so honoured. We don't know precisely when this "kingship" began, but there is no reason not to assign its beginning to the year 435, and to identify 434 B.C. as his first official year.. By that date Artaxerxes had ruled for 30 years and no doubt sensed that his days were numbered.

If Darius did date his regnal years in Babylon – a virtual certainty - then he probably continued this numeration into his sole reign, just as Cambyses did. It is even possible that this was the only dating system employed by this king, though officials in subject lands might have dated his years otherwise. There is simply not enough information to decide one way or the other.

If Darius dated his regnal years from the beginning of his "kingship" of Babylon in 435 B.C. then his 26th through 30th years would correspond to the years 409-405 B.C. and the problem with the Khnemibre inscriptions is completely solved. This assumed “co-regency” of Darius II and Artaxerxes I also provides a possible solution to the apparent documentary silence during Darius' reign. On the assumption that only Darius I had regnal years numbering above 20, it has been a habit of scholars for centuries to assign all Darius documents with year dates above 20, *and any documents associated with them*, to the reign of Darius I. Included here are inscriptions from the western oases of Egypt where Darius I is credited with considerable building activity at the el-Hibeh temple in the Khargeh oasis - work which arguably belongs to the reign of Darius II[426]. We wonder how much of the literature which should illuminate the reign of Darius II has been misattributed to Darius I, largely because of this anomaly in dating the years of the second Darius.

There remains to be examined only a single curiosity related to the Khnemibre inscriptions. The fact that the chiefs-of works Khnemibre and his father are namesakes of king Amasis, and that their names are orthographically identical to those of the king, including the use of the cartouche, suggests the possibility that the architect Ahmose-sa-Neith should be identified as the king Ahmose-sa-Neith, and that the architect Khnemibre was his son.

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[426] See the discussion of the ‘Ayn Manawir ostraca in chapter 11. The ostraca found at that site dated the years of Darius II from the beginning of his tenure as king of Persia, but they were not official documents, and they were not inscribed by officials of the Persian government, as were the Knemibre inscriptions.

Khnemibre - son of Amasis?

In the traditional history this proposal would be unthinkable. Amasis was a pharaoh, the uncontested ruler of all Egypt. He would not be referred to in a graffiti as the "chief of works" of Egypt. But in the revised history, where Amasis was but one among many native Egyptian functionaries in the Persian province, albeit a first among equals, the fact that one of his titles was "chief of works" is neither impossible nor improbable. It is interesting to observe that elsewhere Amasis does in fact refer to himself by purely secular titles. That fact was duly noted by the earlier generation of Egyptologists, though all but ignored by contemporary scholars. According to Breasted, writing at the turn of the 20th century:

> There is contemporary evidence of the gradual rise of Amasis; for long after his assumption of the royal cartouche *he continued to use his titles as noble and a powerful palace official*. Thus he inscribed his mother's sarcophagus as follows: Revered by her husband, royal confidante of Wahibre (W'h-ib-R', Apries), Teperet. Her lifetime was 70 years, 4 months, 15 days. The name of her mother was Mer-Ptah-Si-Hapi. It was her son who made it for her, *the wearer of the royal seal*, *sole companion*, *chief of the palace*, *prophet of Isis, master of the judgment-hall*, Ahmose (Amasis), -Si-Neit. (italics mine) BAR IV 999

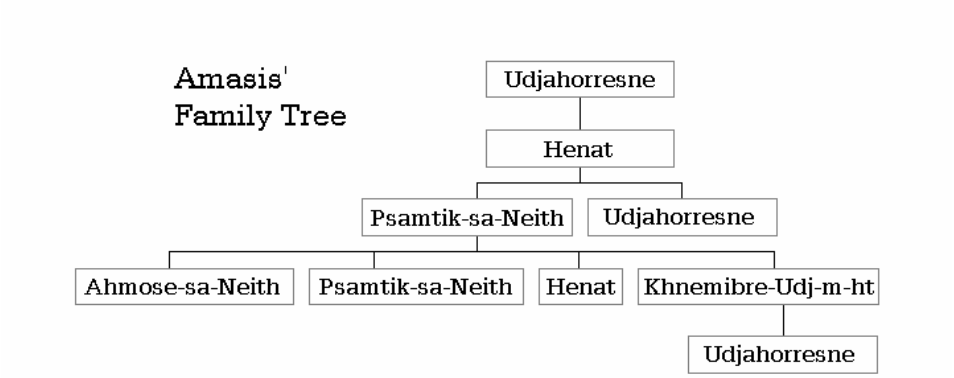
This inscription on the sarcophagus of Amasis' mother is not, as stated by Breasted, an indication of Amasis gradual rise to power. It is an admission by the king that he remained a public official within the Persian court well into his official reign. It is surely problematic for the traditional historian that Amasis refers to himself as the "bearer of the royal seal" and "chief of the palace", titles restricted elsewhere to officials of the ruling monarch. Amasis use of these titles is an admission that he was not the king par excellence within Egypt, and that, at a point of time well into his "reign", he served another master. In the revised history there is no problem with the sarcophagus inscription. Amasis, as token ruler of Egypt subservient to Persia, might well bear the official seal of his Persian overlords Artaxerxes I and Darius II. He also ruled the palace in their stead. But no explanation of these offices is available for the traditional history, and therefore the observation is made by Breasted without comment. This silence is unacceptable.

Based on titles alone there can be no objection to our proposal that the architect Ahmose-sa-Neith is king Amasis and that Khnemibre is his son. But there is a possible genealogical objection. In another graffiti Khnemibre provides a more elaborate genealogy, identifying himself as the last "chief of works" in a sequence of holders of that office, tracing his lineage backward a dozen generations. Specifically this graffiti identifies him as "chief of works of the South and the North Khnemibre, son of the chief of works of the South and the North Ahmose-sa-Neith, son of the chief of works of the South and the North Ankh-Psamtik, son of the chief of works Wahibre-Teni, son of

..."[427] The names Khnemibre, Ahmose, Psamtik, and Wahibre are all enclosed in a cartouche.

There is no intrinsic problem with this genealogy. The father of Amasis is unknown to Egyptologists and may well be a chief of works named Ankh-Psamtik. Our objection arises as a result of our own hypothesis, previously stated (cf. chapter 7), that the genealogy of Amasis is actually provided by the Serapeum stela #410 (SIM 4032), where Ahmose-sa-Neith is identified as the son of Psamtik-sa-Neith, son of Henat, son of Udjahorresne. It was therefore our stated belief that the Saite dynasty king Amasis was the great grandson of Udjahorresne, the well-known Egyptian official who assisted Cambyses, then Darius, in establishing a presence within Egypt following the Egyptian exile. For convenience we reproduce that genealogy below.

Figure 35: Amasis' Genealogy According to Serapeum Stelae (Louvre 179 & 410)



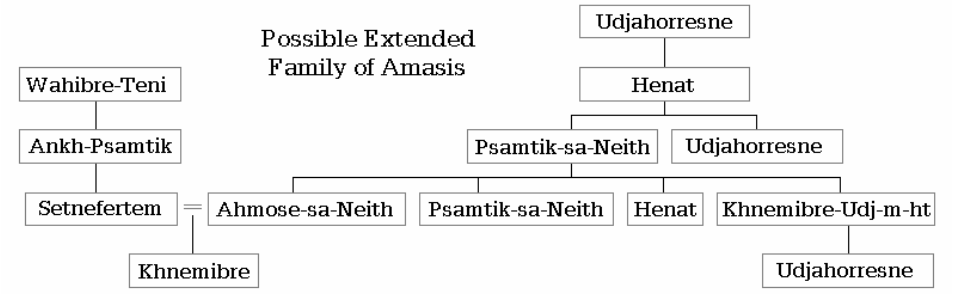
In spite of obvious differences, there remains the possibility of reconciling the Hammamat and Serapeum genealogies. It may be that the office of chief of works was taken over by the family of Amasis from his wife Setnefertem's side of the family and that Khnemibre's second generation connection with Ankh-Psamtik is on his maternal side, i.e. that Ankh-Psamtik is Khnemibre's maternal grandfather.[428] This interpretation assumes that the Hammamat genealogy is loosely construed, a fact argued also by

[427] Posener, La Premiere Domination Perse En Egypte, pp. 101-102.

[428] This assumes that Khnemibre's claim to be the son of Ahmose-sa-Neith, … the son of Ankh-Psamtik", is merely a circumlocution for the statement "grandson of Ankh-Psamtik". This is not good grammar; but bad grammar happens. And elsewhere Khnemibre demonstrates an unwillingness to maintain genealogical conventions.

Posener, one of the early editors of these graffiti. Based on defects elsewhere in the lengthy pedigree of Khnemibre, Posener expresses the opinion that the chief-of-works took liberties with the truth (or with genealogical conventions) in order to establish an unwarranted connection between the Ahmose family and some of the notable "architects" from Egypt's remote past.[429]

Figure 36: Amasis' Extended Genealogy According to the Hammamat Inscription of the Chief-of-Works Khnemibre



We leave the matter there. If nothing else the possibility that Khnemibre, chief of works, is the son of king Amasis, has served to introduce evidence that Amasis was more a public official than a king, a fact we have consistently argued in this revision. The assumed family connection is not otherwise a critical feature of our argument. But if confirmed by subsequent discoveries, then our case is thereby strengthened.

More important for our revision (though still not critical) is our assumption that the genealogy of king Amasis is provided by the Serapeum stelae whose data is summarized in the family tree outlined in figure 36 above. We close our discussion with a closer look at this genealogy.

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[429] Posener, op.cit. p. 98. Referring to the lengthy genealogy of his Inscription #14 Posener writes: "Le texte 14 contient la titulature detaillee et la genealogie de Khnemibre, la premiere presqu'identique a celle de la table d'offrandes 13. L'intention du chef des travaux etait de montrer sa parente avec les grands constructeurs du Nouvel Empire et de l'epoque ethiopienne. S'il s'agit la de traditions d'une vieille famille d'architectes, on les trouve dans l'inscription alterees par le temps et deformees par l'arbitraire de l'auteur qui semble avoir cherche avant tout a satisfaire sa vanite. C'est ainsi, semble-t-il, que doit s'expliquer la double serie d'erreurs que l'on constate dans le texte ..."

Louvre #410 & the Ancestry of Amasis

Two Serapeum stela combine to illuminate the lineage of the family known to Egyptologists as the Henat family. Louvre #410 (SIM 4032), dedicated by a priest named Khnemibre, names Ahmose-sa-Neith as his brother, Psamtik-sa-Neith as his father, and traces his ancestry back through his grandfather Henat to a great-grandfather Udjahorresne (see figure 35 above). A second stela, Louvre #179 (SIM 4112), dedicated by another priest Wahibre-Mery-Neit, names a Psamtik-sa-Neith as his brother, Udjahorresne as his father, and Henat as his grand-father. These two stelae have been published with commentary by Vercoutter in his *Textes Biographiques du Serapeum de Memphis* (texts N & O).[430]

It is argued by Egyptologists, in particular by Anthes, one of the first editors of these genealogical stelae, that the priests Khnemibre and Wahibre-Mery-Neit are of the same generation and have Henat as a common grandfather.[431] From this Henat, son of Udjahorresne, the two branches of the family diverge. We have omitted from our family tree the branch containing the name of Wahibre-Mery-Neit. The names of Udjahorresne, Henat, Psamtik-sa-Neit, and Khnemibre, are commonplace in both family branches.

We should state at the outset that neither of these two stela inscriptions is dated. We could, in fact, close our discussion on that note. There is absolutely no evidence, either within either inscription, or from the context in which they were found, to suggest that either stela originates other than at some time within the reign of Amasis, and probably early in Amasis' reign. As such it can be argued that the genealogucak reference to Ahmose-sa-Neith is to the king by that name. Since Louvre #410 names Ahmose-sa-Neith, enclosing that name in a cartouche precisely as the king's name is written on the Hammamat graffiti of the "chief of works" Khnemibre, there is no substantial reason to object to the proposed identification, other than the fact that this Ahmose-sa-Neith is not specifically called a king. His kingship is at least possible, if not probable.

We cite below other reasons for believing that Ahmose-sa-Neith, the brother of Khnemibre, must be the Saite dynasty king, and that Louvre #410 was erected early in his reign. We also argue that the stela was erected several decades following the reign of Darius I, not eight decades preceding as argued by the traditional history. Such a set of circumstances is only possible within the framework of the revised history. It is for this reason and this reason only that we engage in this brief but somewhat complicated analysis.

1) In his Serapeum stela (Louvre #410) the priest Khnemibre refers to himself as "confidant of the king, the divine father, administrator (of the domains of the Red Sea), priest of Hery-Pe, Khnemibre, son of the lector priest and chief lector priest Psamtik-sa-Neit, who was son of the priest of the same order, Henat, born of the lady Setauretbint,

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[430] Jean Vercoutter, *Textes Biographiques du Serapeum de Memphis* (1962), pp. 88-99.
[431] Rudolf Anthes, "Das Berliner Henat-Relief," ZAS 75 (1939) pp. 21-31.

deceased." The language of the text tells us that Khnemibre's father and grandfather are still alive. He further describes his family connections as follows:

> His eldest son, his dearest, the confidant of the king and divine father, the administrator of the domains (of the Red Sea) the ounro priest Hery-Pe, Udjahorresne, who was born of the lady Ouadjetemhat, deceased, his brother, the confidant of the king, the divine father, the administrator of the domains, the ounro priest, the Hery-Pe, Henat, his brother Psamtik-sa-Neit, his brother Ahmose-sa-Neit, his sister Setairetbint, deceased.

The fact that Khnemibre and several of his family members are entitled "confidant of the king", yet the king is never mentioned on the stela, is curious. Unless, of course, the king's name is present, though without any title. A corresponding enigma confronts the reader when two of Khnemibre's brothers, Psamtik-sa-Neit and Ahmose-sa-Neit himself, are named without titles, an unusual feature which could be construed as evidence that their titles were well known and were considered unnecessary. It can be shown from elsewhere that a noble named Psamtik-sa-Neith, with name written precisely as in this inscription, was a distinguished functionary of king Amasis, entrusted with important constructions in Abydos and elsewhere.[432] If the stela Louvre 410 was intended to be read by contemporaries of Khnemibre, to whom the names of Ahmose-sa-Neith and Psamtik-sa-Neith were familiar, then there was no need to supply titles. It is likely that the omission was deliberate, a means whereby Khnemibre might emphasize his intimacy with his brothers. He is clearly intent on communicating the fact that he, his brother Henat, and his son Udjahorresne, are "confidants" of the king.

2) The fact that the titles of Ahmose-sa-Neith are omitted, and that he appears in this inscription as just another member of an aristocratic family, is perfectly consistent with our contention that king Amasis was really nothing more than an important dignitary. This argument is strengthened by the fact that the Khnemibre stela was apparently erected early in the king's reign, when Amasis was only beginning to emphasize his claim to "kingship". It is possible that around this same time Amasis erected the "memorial chapel" in honour of his grandfather Udjahorresne.

3) The fact that these stela were composed and erected early in Amasis reign is supported by details related to their provenance in the greater vault of the Serapeum. Mariette records the fact that the Wahibre-Mery-Neit stela (Louvre 179) was found in the sands of the corridor outside the crypt which enclosed the Apis deceased in the 23rd year of Amasis. In the same location were discovered at least two other stela (SIM 4115 and SIM 4100), also edited by Vercoutter in his *Textes Biographiques* (texts B & C). These additional stelae are dated by Vercoutter, following Mariette, to the early part of Amasis' reign. The suggestion is made that they were dedicated to the Apis bull which died in Amasis' 4th year. If so, then this should be the date assigned to Louvre #179 and

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[432] Cf. H. Ranke, "Eine spatsaitische Statue in Philadelphia," MDAIK 12 (1943) 107ff.

by association to Louvre #410. But that conclusion needs to be tempered by the fact that stelae associated with different Apis bulls are sometimes deposited in the same general area of the Serapeum

4) If the reader wonders why we emphasize the fact that the Khnemibre and Wahibre-Mery-Neit stelae were erected early in Amasis reign he/she need only read the introductory comments of Vercoutter in his discussion of the two inscriptions. Commenting on the Khnemibre stela Vercoutter notes that "the individuals cited in the text are found on other Serapeum stelae dated from the reign of Darius I" and that, moreover, "the inscription resembles closely (est tres proche) that of the stele SIM 4109", (his text L) which is dated to the 34th year of Darius. He notes also, in remarks related to the Wahibre stela, that Mariette proposed an identification of this stela with the 34th year of Darius. As a result Vercoutter is compelled to date both the Khnemibre and Wahibre stelae well into the Persian period, rather than early in the reign of Amasis, this in spite of the fact that almost eighty years separate the early years of Amasis and the 34th year of Darius I in the traditional history. To his credit Vercoutter does not appear confident with this dating, in spite of his acceptance of it. When commenting on the Wahibre text he remarks:

> It has been dated by Mariette himself from the year 34 of the reign of Darius, although no (other) indications confirm this attribution. One knows that at this same place have been found some stelae from the reign of Amasis. Nothing (specific) is opposed in principle to (the fact that) this text goes back to the last pharaohs of the 26th dynasty. The names of the individuals who figure in the text are found in part on a small Serapeum stela (SIM 4193), but this monument is itself difficult to date. Although it may be very near, based on style, to stelae dated to the reign of Amasis, and its place of discovery connects it with another stela of the same pharaoh (SIM 4192), these two criteria are too imprecise to provide certainty: on the one hand several stelae dated from two different reigns have been found by Mariette at the same place; on the other hand the style at the end of the 26th dynasty is very near to that of the first Persian era.[433]

Vercoutter equivocates. On the one hand he acknowledges that there is considerable evidence connecting the relevant stelae to the beginning of the reign of Amasis. On the other hand there is a clear affinity with the time of the end of the reign of Darius I. In the traditional history these two dates are separated by eighty years. There is clearly a problem.

In the revised history the problem disappears entirely. The early years of Amasis do not precede the 34th year of Darius by 80 years, they follow that date by less than 40 years. Moreover, the presence of the names of Henat family members in the reign of Darius I is not at all a problem. It is precisely what is expected. We have observed that the parents

[433]Vercoutter ,op.cit.,p.93.

and grandparents of the priest Khnemibre are still alive when his Serapeum stela was written Many of these family members are extremely old. Even Khnemibre, the brother of the king, is not a young man. He has an adult son, whose mother (Khnemibre's wife) is deceased. Ahmose-sa-Neith may have been a younger member of the family, but even he was likely born late in the reign of Darius I. It is not surprising, therefore, that names from the Khnemibre stela occur in documents dated in or shortly after the 34th year of Darius I.

It is impossible that the names of the living relatives and ancestors of Knemibre would appear in stelae originating from the 34th year of Darius I (a fact acknowledge by Vercoutter) if the traditional chronology is correct. They would be 80 years in their graves by the year 488 B.C., the 34th year of Darius I. These Serapeum genealogical stelae absolutely contradict the belief that the reign of Amasis preceded the reign of Darius I.

We proceed on the assumption that Louvre #410 preserves the genealogy of the last "king" of the Saite dynasty.

We have almost arrived at the close of our revision. With the death of Amasis and the revolt of his successor Amyrtaeus, Egyptian history will once again march in step with the times.

Chapter 11: A Second "Cambyses".

The Amyrtaeus Rebellion

Our revision of this phase of Egyptian history is all but complete. The last of the displaced dynasties, Manetho's 26th., ended with the death of Ahmose-sa-Neith late in 405 B.C. or early in 404 B.C., less than a year after the death of Darius II of Persia. It was followed immediately by the abbreviated reign of Amyrtaeus, whom we identify as the son of Pausiris, grandson of Apries, and great-grandson of Psamtik II. And since Manetho credits Amyrtaeus with six years of rule we assign to his reign the dates 405/4 - 399 B.C. Here we are in approximate agreement with the traditional history. There is universal agreement that Darius was succeeded in Persia by Artaxerxes II, who ruled an impressive 46 years

Both the revised and traditional histories agree that a third Egyptian rebellion began following the death of Darius II. In the traditional history the instigator was Amyrtaeus, and not only was the rebellion successful but its effects were long lasting. Egypt remained independent for over 60 years. In the revised history the rebellion began during the 44th year of Amasis and continued for five plus years through the reign of Amyrtaeus. It ended tragically in 399 B.C.

As mentioned earlier, the success of the rebellion can be attributed to exigencies outside of Egypt. The death of Darius had precipitated a power struggle between Artaxerxes and his brother, prince Cyrus, satrap of Anatolia, which lasted for several years, culminating in the battle of Cynaxa (401 B.C.) in which Cyrus was killed. Xenophon preserves a description of this contest in exhaustive detail in his classic *Anabasis*. In the course of his narrative Xenophon mentions a build-up of Persian military strength in Palestine, which might have been intended to strike at the rebellious Egyptian province, but he fails to discuss the Egyptian situation, and interpreters reason that the blow was never delivered. It is stated categorically in all popular histories of the period that Egypt's newly declared independence was uncontested, and that it endured for the next sixty years, through the reign of Amyrtaeus and through two subsequent dynasties of kings (Manetho's 29th and 30th). Only in 343 B.C. did Persia, under Artaxerxes III (Ochus), manage to recover its former possession, and that victory was short lived, for in 332 B.C. the armies of Alexander the Great invaded the Delta, ended Persian hegemony in Egypt, and paved the way for the rule of the Ptolemies.

While we have no fundamental disagreement with most of this 4th century Egyptian history, we do question the claim, based more on silence than on any positive evidence, that Artaxerxes passively accepted the loss of what was arguably his most wealthy province. Had we no other reason than historical precedent on which to base our claim - namely, the swift and brutal suppression by Xerxes of the 1st Egyptian rebellion (led by Wahemibre Necao in 486 B.C.), and the equally severe response by Artaxerxes I to the 2nd Egyptian rebellion (led by Inaros in 456 B.C.) - we should have expected Artaxerxes

II to have swiftly moved to put down the Amyrtaeus rebellion. The military contest with prince Cyrus may have delayed the moment of retribution; but it surely did not preclude it. The battle of Cynaxa was won in 401 B.C. Diodorus tells us that sometime during the next year (400 B.C.), Teos, the admiral of Cyrus' Mediterranean fleet, attempted to flee from Artaxerxes. He sailed for safe harbour in Egypt. Instead of the anticipated welcome, Amyrtaeus killed him and captured the fleet of Persian ships. The fact is duly noted by historians and left without comment. But comment is imperative. Are we to believe that this insult upon injury was merely shrugged off by Persia? The fact that the end of the reign of Amyrtaeus is dated to the following year (399 B.C.) in the traditional history suggests that his demise was in some way related to the predicable Persian retaliation.

It is the argument of the revised history that the 3rd Egyptian rebellion, synchronous with the reign of Amyrtaeus, ended with that king's defeat in the year 399 B.C. At that time Artaxerxes did in fact act to recover his Egyptian province, and his effort proved successful. We are not guessing. As we have noted earlier in this revision, the details are preserved by the Greek historian Ktesias.

The 399 B.C. Invasion of Egypt.

When we make the claim that the reign of Amyrtaeus, and the rebellion he initiated, ended in a military conflict with Persia, we are not in conflict with any documentary evidence. The entirety of his reign is all but unattested. As Gardiner notes in his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*:

> Manetho allots to Amyrtaeus a reign of six years, which is probably correct since the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine include a promise of the repayment of a debt dating from his fifth year. Apart from a letter from the same source quoting his name in close proximity to that of Nepherites, his immediate successor, there exists no further reference to him, and he has left no monuments. *We are in the dark alike as to how he came by his throne and as to how he lost it.* (italics added)[434]

Gardiner is representative of Egyptologists who discount entirely Ktesias' description of a Persian invasion in the days of Amyrtaeus. And we will not repeat our lengthy discussion of the details of that invasion (see above pp. 174-75). Our purpose in this chapter is to provide argument supporting those details. For reference purposes, however, we do reproduce the relevant section of the Persika.

> This Bagapates conducted an expedition against Egypt and its king Amyrtaeus and he defeated Amyrtaeus thanks to the eunuch Combaphis, a powerful

[434] Alan Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs (1961), pp. 372-3.

> minister of the Pharaoh, who handed over the bridges and betrayed all the interests of Egypt in order to become the governor. He became the (governor) because Cambyses, after having conferred this charge via Izabates, cousin of Combaphis, confirmed it himself later by word of mouth. Having captured Amyrtaeus he did not deal with him harshly. He was content to exile him to Persia along with 6000 Egyptians chosen by him, and he (proceeded) to annex all Egypt. There fell in the battle 50,000 Egyptians and 7000 Persians.[435]

Whatever else is said about this section of the Persika, scholars are in agreement that the invasion, as described, does not agree with the details of the "invasion" of Egypt by Cambyses portrayed by Herodotus in his Cambyses narrative. It is argued that Ktesias has mistakenly named Amyrtaeus, rather than Psamtik III, as the victim of the assault; that Cambyses himself led the invasion, not a eunuch named Bagapates; that extensive loss of life on the part of both Egyptians and Persians alike is a distortion of the facts; and that an exile of thousands of Egyptians is otherwise unknown at the beginning of Cambyses' Egyptian reign. Nor is anything known concerning a powerful Egyptian dignitary named Combaphis living in the days of Cambyses and Darius I. It is therefore argued that Ktesias invasion’ narrative, in its entirety, is a fabrication of a later age, when anti-Persian propaganda was commonplace.

We argue instead that the Ktesian narrative is substantially accurate, albeit misplaced. Our purpose in the balance of this chapter is to demonstrate that only at the end of the 5th century, and only in the revised history of that time period, do we find conditions corresponding to the circumstances of this narrative, and a sequence of named individuals which are found both in Ktesias and in other Egyptian documents. To be specific, we wish to establish that at this time in Egyptian history a political leader named Combaphis, whose name was typically shortened to Kbdj in demotic documents, did in fact assume the status, if not the title, of pharaoh. Here, at the turn of the 4th century, and only in the revised history, do we find the names Darius (II), Amasis, Artaxerxes (II), Amyrtaeus, Combaphis/Kbdj, and Nepherites, the successor of Amyrtaeus, linked together in a variety of documents.

A Revised History of the End of the First Persian Domination

According to the revised history the reigns of Darius II (424-405 B.C.) and Amasis (449-405/4 B.C.) overlapped for two decades. The final year of Amasis (405/404 B.C.), his 44th, is singled out for special attention in several documents, as if to draw attention to its uniqueness. Whether Amasis withheld tribute from Persia in his final year, tantamount to declaring Egyptian independence, or whether the credit for the 3rd Egyptian rebellion belongs to Amyrtaeus, who broke with Persia in his first year (the 2nd

[435] Persika 10. Based on the translation from the Greek into French by R. Henry, Ctesias, La Perse, L'Inde: Less Sommaires de Photius (1947).

of Artaxerxes) is for the most part immaterial. The fact that Artaxerxes' 2nd year is attested on a damaged monument excavated in the ruins of the palace of Apries (see below) may suggest a slight delay in the break from Persian rule, or it may simply indicate a delayed acceptance of that reality by a segment of the population. Regardless, we will continue to refer to the independence movement as the Amyrtaeus rebellion in keeping with historical precedent.

The years of the Amyrtaeus revolt are all but void of documentary evidence, precluding any certainty regarding its details. But the assumption can be made, based on the example of the Inaros rebellion a half century earlier, that Amyrtaeus was not the only participant. Our only comprehensive historical source document, the fragmentary account of Ktesias, suggests that Amyrtaeus was assisted in the rebellion by at least one powerful ally, whose name is preserved in various forms in at least five other monumental inscriptions or documentary sources. As we shall see, this Kbdj (=Combaphis) is at times referred to as a pharaoh, with name in cartouche, and elsewhere as a non-regal, but influential political figure. His status depends either on the documentary source (some apparently viewing his "reign" as legitimate, others as illegitimate) or on the time period being discussed (before or after his fifth year). The tenure of this Kbdj appears to be synchronous with the rule of Amyrtaeus and, if we correctly interpret the Ktesias fragment, his "rule" extended several years beyond the Bagapates invasion, that is, beyond the captivity and exile of Amyrtaeus. We suggest, therefore, that Kbdj remained in office, whether as a vizier, governor or pharaoh, for approximately 8 years, from 404-396 B.C. (see figure 37 below)

The fact that Manetho and the Demotic Chronicle cite Nepherites as the successor of Amyrtaeus is not in conflict with this view of history. Nepherites, who is every bit as unknown as Amyrtaeus, may have been related to Amyrtaeus, while Kbdj was not. Perhaps Nepherites was a nomarch already ruling some district of Egypt in conjunction with Amyrtaeus (see the discussion of the Ayn Manawir ostraca below) and the Persians merely elevated his status at the end of the rebellion. Whatever the reason, in the eyes of the Chronicler(s) his reign possessed a legitimacy that Kbdj lacked. Consequently, only the name of Nepherites is preserved. We believe it possible that Amyrtaeus, Nepherites and Kbdj governed separate regions of the country during the rebellion. The fact of localized rule during this time period has recently been argued strenuously by no less an authority than Andre Lemaire.[436]

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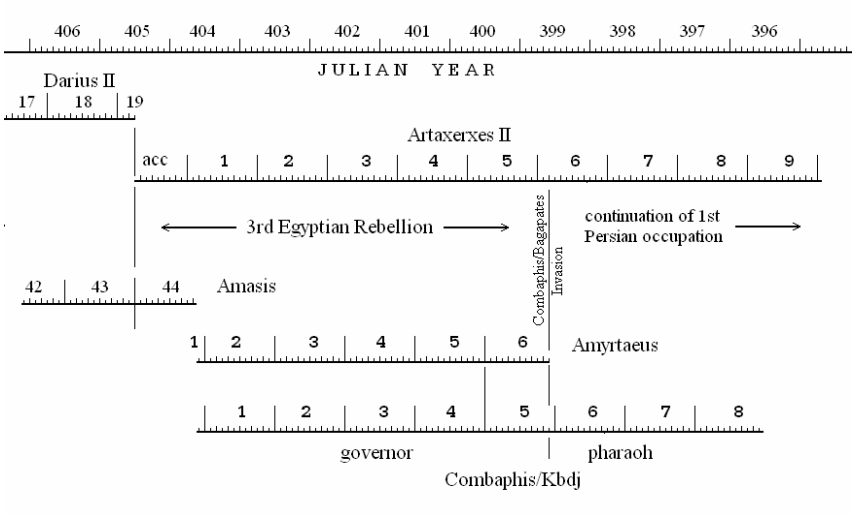
[436] Andre Lemaire, "La fin de la premiere periode perse en Egypte et la chronologie judeenne vers 400 av. J.-C." *Transeuphratene* 9 (1995). Lemaire is not arguing the presence of two competing native Egyptian pharaohs, but rather is attempting to explain how an Aramaic stele from Assuan could mention the 7th year of Artaxerxes II at a time when Egypt had rejected Persian rule and was governed by Amyrtaeus. Elephantine, he argues, remained under Persian rule while Amyrtaeus ruled elsewhere. We accept his reasoning that different parts of Egypt could have loyalties to different pharaohs, but we apply the argument to the overlapping reigns of Nepherites Amyrtaeus and Kbdj. The Artaxerxes 7th year inscription is to be explained otherwise. By his 7th year, Artaxerxes had regained control of Egypt. The Amyrtaeus rebellion was over.

If our reconstruction of the history of the Amyrtaeus rebellion is correct, then Egyptian independence from Persia was short-lived, lasting at most from 404-399 B.C., i.e. from the 1st into the 6th years of Artaxerxes II. Persia regained control of its Egyptian province in 399 B.C., early in the 6th year of Artaxerxes. It is not surprising, therefore, that a single inscription, found at Elephantine, is dated in the 7th year of Artaxerxes, attesting Persian sovereignty within Egypt at that late date. The date suits the revised chronology perfectly; it conflicts seriously with the traditional history.

Figure 37: Timeline – the 3rd Egyptian Rebellion


406 405 404 403 402 401 400 399 398 397 396
JULIAN YEAR
Darius II
17 18 19
Artaxerxes II
acc 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
3rd Egyptian Rebellion
continuation of 1st Persian occupation
Combaphis/Bagapates Invasion
42 43 44 Amasis
1 2 3 4 5 6 Amyrtaeus
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
governor
pharaoh
Combaphis/Kbdj

It is unknown how long Persia maintained its suzerainty over Egypt following the Bagapates invasion. The precise dates may never be known since the 29th dynasty pharaohs Nepherites and Achoris (Hakar) are not well attested. But since the Greek historians document an unsuccessful assault on Egypt by Artaxerxes II in 373 B.C., during the reign of Nekhtnebef, it may be assumed that at least by that date Egyptian independence had been finally established. The end of the first Persian domination must be dated sometime within the reign of Achoris (393-380 B.C.). For reference we summarize this history in Table 18.

Before proceeding with our description of the invasion that ended the rebellion of Amyrtaeus we take a moment to introduce a series of inscriptions recently excavated in Ayn Manawir in Egypt. We have repeatedly argued the fact that Amyrtaeus was surnamed Psamtik, and that as successor to Amasis he alone deserves the title Psamtik III. We have also argued that Amyrtaeus, not Ankhkanre Psamtik, was on the throne when Egypt was devastated by an invasion led by a Persian named "Cambyses". It would be unfair to proceed without some evidence that we are correct in our identification of Amyrtaeus.

Table 18: End of the First Persian Domination and Beyond

DARIUS II	424-405 B.C.
3rd EGYPTIAN REBELLION	
Amasis 44th year	405/404 B.C.
Amyrtaeus as pharaoh	404-399 B.C.
Kbdj as governor (years 1-5)	404-399 B.C.
INVASION OF BAGAPATES	
Kbdj as pharaoh (years 5-8)	399-396 B.C.
Nepherites I as pharaoh	399-393 B.C.
Psammuthis	393 B.C.
Achoris	393-380 B.C.
Nepherites II	380 B.C.
Nekhtnebef	380-363 B.C.
Teos	362-361 B.C.
Nekhthorheb	360-343 B.C.

The ‘Ayn Manawir Ostraca

The site of 'Ayn Manawir is located on the western outskirts of the Khargeh Oasis in the desert north-west of Thebes. During the 1992 and 1993 excavations of the temple at this site, the excavation team discovered, in addition to a considerable quantity of ceramic material, dozens of ostraca containing demotic inscriptions specifically dated to the later stages of the first Persian occupation and the early years of the 29th dynasty. In particular the ostraca bear year dates from the reigns of Artaxerxes I, Darius II, Artaxerxes II, Amyrtaeus and Nepherites I., this in the opinion of the scholars at the site.[437]

[437] . M. Wuttmann, B. Bousquet, M. Chauveau, P. Dils, S. Marchand, A. Schweitzer, L. Volay, "Premier rapport preliminaire des travaux sur le site de 'Ayn Manawir," BIFAO 96 (1996) pp. 385-451.

To be more specific the ostraca collection included 12 documents dated from years 22 through 40 of Artaxerxes I, 24 documents dated from years 2 through 18 of Darius II[438], a single document each from years 1 and 3 of an unknown king (*'rt*) which the excavators considered to be an abbreviation of the name of Artaxerxes II, a single document each from the 5th and 6th years of a king Psamtik, identified as the 28th dynasty king Amyrtaeus, and a single document each from the years 5 and 7 of Nepherites I. By assigning the documents to the named kings, it was determined that the temple compound was occupied continuously from 443 B.C. to 393 B.C. The documents as assigned provide an almost continuous record of occupation of the temple.[439] There are no individual photographs of the ostraca to allow us to check the identifications.

The discovery of such a large number of dated documents from the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II was welcomed by the excavators. It was also somewhat of a surprise. These two reigns are noted for their lack of dated documents. Even more surprising were the two ostraca inscriptions dated to the 5th and 6th years of a king Psamtik. To maintain the assumption of continuity of occupation it was concluded that these two ostraca must belong to the reign of Amyrtaeus, the sole occupant of Manetho's 28th dynasty, who followed Darius II on the throne of Egypt. As such they provide the first known validation of the passage from Diodorus Siculus, quoted several times already in this revision, which refers to the successor of Darius II as "Psammetichus, king of the Egyptians, son of the famous Psammetichus (Diod 14.35.4) Accordingly, the excavators labelled the two ostraca as belonging to Psamtik V with the added qualification (= Amyrtaeus).

As for the Artaxerxes II ostraca, only one of which is clearly legible, the excavators can only suggest that "perhaps one can see there an abbreviated writing of Arta<xerxes>" That possibility certainly exists within the framework of the revised history, since we have already raised the possibility that the rebellion did not begin until the second year of this king, and have argued that a later date need indicate only “a delayed acceptance of that reality by a segment of the population.”[440] The same explanation must be given by the traditional history, which also believes that Egyptian independence had been declared in the 1st year of Artaxerxes.

For the revised history at least there exists an alternative explanation of the two Arta(xerxes) ostraca that bear the years dates 1 and 3. It is possible that the problematic king *'rt* (and perhaps even the king identified as Nepherites) ruled in parts of Egypt

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[438] The presence of documents bearing these dates is not a contradiction of what we have previously argued concerning the convention followed by Darius II in dating his years. These ostraca are not official documents. It would be perfectly natural for the general population within Egypt to number the years of Darius from the death of his predecessor, even if Darius himself followed a different convention. That was in fact what happened in the case of Cambyses earlier.

[439] Ibid., see especially pages 410-12 and the chronological table on pages 413-14.

[440] This is more than possible in the isolation of the Khargeh oasis, where the Persians may well have continued to exercise authority for several additional years.

during the Amyrtaeus rebellion, filling more completely the gap in the occupation record of the site. We have repeatedly argued that the 2nd and 3rd Egyptian rebellions were led by multiple nomarchs ruling the several districts of Egypt.

What is most significant among the Manawir documents are the two ostraca bearing the name of Psamtik, which provide confirmation of one critical aspect of our thesis. It is surely significant that the dates inscribed on them go no higher than the 6th year, the last known year of the reign of Amyrtaeus. If correctly identified as Amyrtaeus by the excavators, then according to the revised history Psamtik V must go the way of Psamtik IV, since Amyrtaeus Psamtik, as successor to Amasis, must necessarily take the place of Psamtik III.

Having outlined a revised view of Egyptian history following the death of Darius II, there remains the need to defend it. In particular one thing and one thing only needs to be proved, namely, the fact that a dignitary named Cambaphis/Kbdj ruled Egypt in the early years of the 4th century B.C., in the time frame noted., and that even modern day scholars, echoing the error of their ancient counterparts, have repeatedly confused this dignitary with Cambyses, son of Cyrus. With that we will rest our case.

The Governor/Pharaoh Kbdj

We have already constructed a rough chronology of the times using the combined evidence of the Hammamat inscriptions of the architect Khnemibre, the Photius fragment of the Ktesian history, and the brief reference of Diodorus Siculus, augmented by the testimony of Manetho and the evidence from 'Ayn Manawir. . There remains for us to examine, albeit briefly, five other documents which bear on the life and times of Combaphis/Kbdj.

The Petition of Petesi

In chapter five we discussed at some length the important papyrus, known to historians as the Petition of Petesi, which preserves details of the family history of a priestly clan from el-Hibeh (Teuzoi) in middle Egypt. That document preserves biographical and other assorted materials from the Petesi family archives spanning one and one-half centuries, from the 4th year of Psamtik I through the 9th year of Darius I, encompassing five generations of the Petesi family - Petesi I, Essemteu I, Petesi II, Essemteu II, Petesi III. This at least was the interpretation given the document by the traditional history.

In our earlier discussion our attention was focussed on the time of the patriarch Petesi I. Here we are concerned with the time of the author of the document, the archivist

himself, Petesi III. .

According to Griffiths[441], who provides the most comprehensive translation, Petesi III composed this lengthy document as a type of legal brief, in order to support his contention that his historical rights to a priesthood in Teuzoi were being denied him, and to document the persecution he was suffering for continuing to claim those rights. What concerns this revision is not the story itself, but the timeline which forms the basis for its interpretation.

In the estimation of Griffiths Petesi composed his argument in the 9th year of Darius I. He begins the document by describing his most recent tribulations. He then proceeded to document his right to the Teuzoi priesthood by providing a lengthy history of the Petesi family's involvement with the temple complex in Teuzoi, from the 4th year of Psamtik I down to the 4th year of Kam'oze, the latter name understood by Griffith, and by all subsequent interpreters of this document, as an altered form of the name of Cambyses. There the story abruptly ends, though Griffiths thinks that an earlier brief, for which the historical section of the present document was a replacement, must have continued the story down to the 9th year of Darius. The Petition concludes by affixing copies of some of the documents alluded to in the earlier narrative, several of which we have examined in our earlier discussion of this papyrus.[442]

Here we are concerned primarily with the historical section, which not only continued the Petesi family history down to the 4th year of Kam'oze, but used as reference points in the discussion activities which lasted "until year 44 of Ahmosi" and "in year 3 of Kam'oze". Earlier still we find reference to the 15th year of Amasis

Griffith's conclusions regarding the chronology of the critical introductory and historical sections of the papyrus, his sections A and B, can be summed up as follows:

Section A 1/1-5/12 A description of Petesi's troubles in year 9 of Darius I, (513 B.C.) when the Petition was composed.
Section B 5/13-21/4 A history of the Petesi family from c.a. 660 B.C. (the 4th year of Psamtik I) through 556 B.C. (the 15th year of Amasis) and perhaps a few years beyond.
Section B 21/4-21/9 A few brief concluding statements summarizing events following the 15th year of Amasis, taking the narrative through the 44th year of Amasis and into the reign of Cambyses.

The narrative thus conceived is left without any conclusion.

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[441] F. Ll. Griffith, *The Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester ,* 1909, p. 60. Griffith provides a translation of the entire papyrus on pages 60-112 and quotations from this translation are noted simply as Petition (page no.)

[442] In chapter five we quoted extensively from the beginning of the historical section and made reference to the copies of stela inscriptions appended to the Petition.

In fairness to Griffith this interpretation of the papyrus was the only one available. The mention of the names Darius, Amasis and "Kam'oze" in the same document, in the interpretive framework of the traditional history, necessitated the identification of "Per'o Tariaush" (in the first line of section A) with Darius I, and "Kam'oze" (in lines 21/7 and 21/9) with Cambyses.

We propose instead the following chronology, based on the revised history.

Section A 1/1-5/12 Petesi, writing in the 4th year of Kam’oze, whom we identify as Combaphis/Kbdj (401 B.C.) describes his persecution by temple officials fifteen or twenty-five years earlier, in the 9th year of Darius II (426 or 416 B.C., depending on the dating system employed for the years of Darius II).
Section B 5/13-21/4 Petesi goes on to document the history of the Petesi family from 539 B.C. (the 4th year of Psamtik I) through 434 B.C. (the 15th year of Amasis) and perhaps a few years beyond. These remarks are intended to explain the cause of the persecution Petesi has just documented in section A.
Section B 21/4-21/9 Petesi concludes by summarizing events which followed the 9th year of Darius, taking the narrative through the 44th year of Amasis and down to the present, the 4th year of Combaphis/Kbdj. As we have previously noted, Combaphis was a contemporary of Amyrtaeus, and like Amyrtaeus he followed Amasis directly, first as governor, then as pharaoh. .

According to this interpretation "Kam'oze" is Combaphis/Kbdj, not Cambyses. Strictly speaking, the spelling it is not an accurate representation of either name.

It should be noted that only a minor interpretive change separates the two chronologies. In support of the revised version we note that the entirety of sections A and B give the appearance of a single narrative, in which the author, Petesi III, takes a nostalgic look back on his personal struggles with Persian authorities, conflicts which culminated in the persecution "in the ninth year of Per'o Tariaush." Thus his story begins at that point in time. But the injustices he suffered in the 9th year of Darius were not resolved. The section ends with Petesi "crying aloud unto the governor" (4/20) and spending many days "pleading and praying daily" (5/9) for a resolution to his complaints. It makes no sense for Griffith to consider this the end of the story. And the narrative certainly does not do so. The entire point of the section B narrative is to place the section A conflicts in context and to give some sense of their resolution, or lack thereof.

Griffiths and subsequent authors have failed to appreciate the purpose of the Petition. It is not, as Griffiths thinks, a legal document. It is rather, as might be expected from a priest, a form of petition or prayer to the god Amun, the patron deity of Teuzoi. In section A Petesi recounts to the god his earlier suffering in the 9th year of Darius and his unheeded pleas to the Persian authorities at that time. Having failed to convince Persia of the justness of his cause, Petesi pleads his case before the god Amun. Almost the entirety of section B. is conceived as a reminder to Amun of the prolonged suffering endured by the Petesi family in the years preceding the 9th year of Darius. Thus section

B begins with the statement: "Oh may Amun prolong his existence to inform the governor of the events that happened." (5/13) And then Petesi proceeds to go back in time and document the extensive injustice suffered by his ancestors through the preceding century, a story which continues down to the few years preceding the 9th year of Darius, whence took place the persecution which prompted the narrative. The two sections A and B are a literary unit.

But like any good narrative, the story had to be brought to a fitting conclusion. Petesi is writing in the year 401/400 B.C., the 4th year of Kam'oze/Combaphis. The incidents about which he writes were largely concluded by 426 or 416 B.C. His problems have not been resolved entirely, but his primary antagonist in the earlier persecution, Kelkhons, has died in the interim. Petesi is resigned to his loss. When he concludes with these final remarks he is essentially finished his narrative. He has not recovered his priesthood, but there is a sense of closure. We reproduce his final words.

> (But) its temple-place (is) (5) lying in ruins *until now*.
> After a few days [better: after some time] Khelkhons son of Hor went to (his) fathers; (6) Psammetkmenempe son of Hor did not come to Teuzoi *until now*, but what he did was to send men to fetch his property, (7) until year 44 of Ahmosi.
> In year 3 of Kam'oze Hor, son of Psammetkmenempe, the prophet of Amun, came to Teuzoi, and stood with the priests: but they spake not with him as to any man on earth, and they did not let rations (?) be taken to him. They went to (9) Pshenah son of Ienharou, the brother of Harkhebuesikem, and wrote him the title to the share of the prophet of Amun of Teuzoi in year 4 of Kam'oze. Petition 21/4-9 (italics added)

With that Petesi ends his narrative.

There remains for us to defend our interpretation. We observe the following:

1. Taking 21/4-9 as the conclusion of the narrative makes perfect sense. We have remarked on the inappropriateness of Griffith's assumption that the life history of Petesi III ends with the conclusion of section A, with matters completely unresolved and with no literary indication that the story is over. Not so with the conclusion in the 4th year of Kam'oze. The physical end of the narrative (sections A and B combined) seems to be the most obvious place to bring things to a chronological conclusion, however unsatisfactory the outcome. Besides, Petesi twice uses the phrase "until now" at the conclusion of section B. What else does this phrase imply if not that the "now" being referenced is the time when the narrative is being written.

2. The narrative itself contradicts Griffith's claim that section B in its entirety is merely a copy of a petition sent by Petesi to the Persian governor in the 9th year of Darius. This historical material contains no special pleading, no request for redress, no hint whatsoever that it was intended to be reviewed by governmental officials. This is

particularly true for the concluding paragraph quoted above. And especially troublesome to Griffith himself is the absence of any record in the "Petition" of Petesi’s most recent actions vis-à-vis the Teuzoi priesthood. Griffith is compelled to assume, in remarks quoted earlier, that "if, as is probable, the original report continued the narrative down to the 9th year of Darius, this portion was omitted as being replaced and completed by A." But this is tantamount to saying that section B is not, in fact, a duplicate of the petition mentioned in section A and that the present ending was not necessarily a part of that document.

3. We note that section A begins by referring to the 9th year of *pharaoh* Darius. Amasis, on the other hand, is sometimes referred to as *pharaoh* and sometimes not. Ka'moze is twice mentioned, but in neither case is he afforded regal status. This ambivalence toward Amasis and apparent disrespect for the status of Kam'oze is consistent with the position of these dignitaries in the revised history. It cannot be explained in the framework of the traditional history. Amasis was indeed pharaoh, but only in a secondary sense. He was a puppet king under Artaxerxes I and then under Darius II. We have already observed in a previous chapter that he regarded himself, in some contexts, as no more than a palace official. And we have also observed, as we continue to argue in the following sections, that Combaphis/Kam'oze/Kbdj was, for his first five years at least, not regarded as a pharaoh. He may have been a nomarch, originally siding with Amyrtaeus, then betraying him. He may have been, as Ktesias claims, only a powerful minister under Amyrtaeus. Perhaps he was a Persian governor, who first sided with Amyrtaeus and the rebels in 404 B.C., then reverted in 399 B.C. to his former allegiance, when Bagapates threatened to end the rebellion. His name does not sound Egyptian.

4. If Kam'oze is Cambyses, and Petesi composed his narrative nine years into the reign of Darius I, we wonder why there is no mention of the invasion of Cambyses. Why the emphasis on the 44th year of Amasis, a year before the invasion, and on the years 3 and 4 of Cambyses, following the invasion, and yet no hint that in between circumstances within Egypt had changed dramatically. In the revised history the significance of the 44th year of Amasis and of the early years of Kam'oze have already been underscored. It is the time of the Amyrtaeus rebellion. Petesi has apparently been provided some solace at news of the death of one adversary (Kelkhons, son of Hor) and the lack of recognition given by the new regime to another nemesis (Hor, son of Psammetkmenempe, the prophet of Amun who in the 15th year of Amasis had taken from Petesi the share of the prophet of Amun of Teuzoi). Petesi rests his case and ends his narrative on this note.

5. The reference to years 3 and 4 of Cambyses are troubling for the traditional history, in and of themselves. We have previously observed that two systems of dating the years of this king have been recognized – one beginning with his coronation as king of Babylon and one beginning with his inauguration as king of Persia at the death of Cyrus. To our knowledge no other numeration systems were employed. But here the years of Cambyses are apparently numbered beginning with the death of Amasis, ignoring the

reign of Ankhkanre Psamtik III, or at latest at the death of Psamtik III[443]. This situation is improbable to say the least.

Let the reader decide if the Petition best supports the traditional or the revised histories.

But the Petition is not the only document that refers to a dignitary named Kbdj governing Egypt shortly after the 44th year of Amasis. For additional insights we need to take a second look at the Demotic Chronicle.

The Demotic Chronicle

Details concerning the provenance and physical structure of the Demotic Chronicle were reviewed in chapter 2 and will not be repeated here. In the words of F. Ll. Griffith this papyrus, currently the property of the Bibliotheque Nationale, and "dating from the early years of Greek rule in Egypt", contains "two interesting paragraphs concerning the treatment of the temples by Cambyses,"[444] and for that reason is of concern to this revision. In spite of the fragmentary, at times undecipherable condition of the papyrus, Griffith provides a provisional translation. The frequently inserted interrogatives testify to the difficulty of the task:

> The words [concerning?] property: they which are written in the writing of property in separation (?) from year [44?] of Per'o Ahmosi unto the day when [Cambyses? came] up to Egypt (or went up out of Egypt?). Thereupon (?) he died, before he reached his country. [Darius (?) was he who ruled?] the whole land (or the whole land mourned for him, i.e. Amasis) because of his beneficence of heart, as prince. He (Cambyses or Darius?) gave Egypt to his satrap in year 3, saying, 'let the writings of account (?) . . . the numbers (?) of the warriors . . . the scribes of Egypt be sent to me . . . together, that they may write the custom of Egypt established (?) for Per'o unto (?) year [44?] of Per'o Ahmose (as?) the custom, the custom [established (?) for Per'o unto (?) the temples, the custom which was brought hither (?) . . . unto year 19 . . . Egypt which were . . . the matters in which they were engaged, the divine endowments . . . the custom of Egypt. They wrote a copy [of it in (?) the writing of Ashur.

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[443] The defeat of Psamtik is dated by the traditional history to 525 B.C., the 5th year of Cambyses based on the Persian accession year system. If this year is now to be called Cambyses 1st (Egyptian) year, this would imply a shift to the Egyptian predating system. The year 522 would then be the 4th year in this system. But Cambyses died very early in 522 B.C. and we might expect Petesi to mention that fact. The combined problems have not escaped the notice of Egyptologists like Posener, who claim, based on this document, that the years of Cambyses were numbered here from the death of Amasis in 526 B.C., ignoring the reign of Psamtik III (see note 211 on page 173-4)

[444] F. Ll. Griffith, The Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, (1909) vol. iii , p. 26

The second column (paragraph) is not so obscure as the first, and clearly describes Kabuze, Amasis' successor, as he acts to deprive all but a select few of the Egyptian temples of much of the income they enjoyed under Amasis.

> The boats (or boards?), the fire-wood, the flax (?), the papyrus (?), which used to be given to the temples aforetime in the reign of Per'o Ahmosi, except the temple of Memfi, the temple of Uon (?) (Hermopolis in the Delta), and the temple of Pubasti (?) - to the temples, Kabuze (Cambyses) commanded, saying, 'Give them not unto them, from (?) the ... , but let places be given unto them in the groves (?) of the South Land (Upper Egypt), that they may procure boats (or boards) and firewood for themselves, and bring them to their gods." The wood-produce (?) for the three temples (named) above; Kabuze commanded, saying, 'Let them be given to them in the manner of aforetime.' The cattle which used to be given to the temples, the temples of the gods, aforetime, in the reign of Per'o Ahmosi, except the three temples (named) above; Kabuze commanded saying, '[Their] half shall be given to them. ... etc. [445]

Though several details in these paragraphs are of concern, our focus is on the introductory sentences in the first column of text which provide the time frame. For comparison we repeat Griffiths translation side by side with that of Spiegelberg from his *Die Sogenannte Demotische Chronik*, the critical edition of the text:

> Spiegelberg: The narrative which ... them, which is written in the ..., from the 44th year of pharaoh Amasis until the day in which Cambyses became lord of Egypt. He (Cambyses) died from ... yet before he had established his dominion. Then ... Darius .... of the ... land on account of his excellence of heart.[446]

> Griffith: The words [concerning?] property: they which are written in the writing of property in separation (?) from year [44?] of Per'o Ahmosi unto the day when [Cambyses? came] up to Egypt (or went up out of Egypt?). Thereupon (?) he died, before he reached his country. [Darius (?) was he who ruled?] the whole land (or the whole land mourned for him, i.e. Amasis) because of his beneficence of heart, as prince.

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[445] Ibid., pp. 26,27.

[446] W. Spiegelberg, Die Sogenannte Demotische Chronik (1914) pp. 30,31 Speigelbergs translation included many conjectural readings (denoted with italics) which have been omitted in our English rendering. He translates: "Die Dinge (Worte) welche *gestanden haben hinter* dem, was in das *Zahlungsbuch* geschrieben ist, vom Jahre 44 des Pharao Amasis an bis zu dem Tage, an welchem Kambyses Herr von Agypten wurde. Er starb auf ...., noch bevor er sein Gebiet (Reich) erreicht hatte. Da <*folgte ihm*> Darius. *Ihm gehorchten [die Gaue]* des *ganzen* Landes wegen seiner Vortrefflichkeit des Herzens."

It is clear from a comparison of the translations provided by these two demotic scholars that these paragraphs are concerned entirely with activities within Egypt in the time interval from the 44th year of pharaoh Amasis to the day when an official named Kabuze (Kbdj) "left or arrived in Egypt" (Griffith) or "became lord of Egypt" (Spiegelberg). The nature of these reforms, primarily concerned with temple economics, is immaterial. The point is that the time interval should have been of some considerable duration. The reforms were significant. It was apparently a unique time demanding radical departures from tradition.

What strikes the interpreter immediately is the difficulty of reconciling this text with the known sequence of events associated with the traditional history. In that history the 44th year of Amasis ended in 526 B.C. and the arrival of Cambyses is dated six months later in 525 B.C.[447] The interval, supposedly occupied by the brief reign of Psamtik III, lasted only 6 months. No legislation was enacted during that time; no temple customs were altered. There was no time. If Herodotus is correct the entire brief reign of Psamtik III was taken up in a single military venture. Then what is the Chronicle talking about when it states that the following two columns of text are concerned with matters which took place between the 44th year of Amasis and the day when Cambyses became lord of Egypt? This hypothetical interval of time simply does not exist.

The problem, of course, is entirely a creation of an errant Egyptian chronology. In the revised history five years separated the 44th year of Amasis (405/4 B.C.) and the "going out and coming in" of Combaphis/Kbdj, when the Egyptian dignitary became "lord of Egypt" (399 B.C.) This interval, which we have already observed in the Ktesian history and in the Petition of Petesi, is precisely the time of the 3rd Egyptian rebellion. It was a unique time demanding unique reforms. Financing the rebellion was costly. The reduction of temple incomes might well be expected. And Kbdj, a powerful minister in league with Amyrtaeus, would be precisely the man to effect these reforms.

We should not be disconcerted that both Griffith and Spiegelberg see a possible mention of Darius in the following sentence. Both scholars rely on their particular view of history to assist in translating the obscured text. It is entirely possible that Darius is not actually mentioned. Griffith cannot read the name and Spiegelberg is unsure about the translation. The text is extremely fragmentary and the precise connection of Darius with the narrative is not clear. Since Darius II died less that a year before Amasis' 44th year, this portion of the text might simply be referencing the reforms of Kbdj back to the conditions that prevailed in the days of Darius. It is Darius II, not Darius I, whose actions are at issue. That suggestion finds support from the text itself. Further down in the first paragraph there occurs a problematic reference to the year 19 of a king whose

[447] R.A. Parker, "The Length of the Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty," KMDAIK 15 (1957) has argued that the reign of Amasis extended into his 45th year. His arguments have been accepted as valid by the majority of scholars, but the system of lunar dating on which his deductions are based have no validity with the Saite dynasty removed from it 7th/6th century context.

name is lost. Spiegelberg thinks this might be Darius, Griffith does not speculate. If Spiegelberg is correct the dateline must reference Darius II. In the revised history the 19th year of Darius II was his last year on the Persian throne. The text seems to be saying that certain conditions prevailed up to this year which were different from those which were introduced after the 44th year of Amasis. All of this accords precisely with the revised chronology at the time of the Amyrtaeus rebellion. One set of economic rules held until the death of Darius II in his 19th year; another from the 44th year of Amasis until Kamoze became lord of Egypt in 399 B.C.

The Chronicle is concerned primarily with the reforms of Kamoze/Kbdj during the Amyrtaeus rebellion. The entire text needs to be re-examined by demotic scholars in the framework of the revised history.

A final few remarks concerning the Chronicle must suffice. It appears that Kamoze (Kbdj) did not live long after becoming pharaoh in 399 B.C. According to Griffith the text goes on to say that “he died, before he reached his country” while Spiegelberg translates “He (Cambyses) died from ... yet before he had established his dominion.”

The premature death of Kabuze/Kbdj only a few years after assisting Bagapates in putting down the Amyrtaeus rebellion is precisely what is predicted in the revised history. As we shall soon see, he ruled only into his 8th year (496 B.C.), five years as "a powerful minister of Amyrtaeus," and three years as pharaoh after betraying Amyrtaeus. In our concluding section we even hazard a guess as to how he died.

In evaluating the Chronicle it must be considered significant that here, as in the Petition of Petesi, Amasis is referred to as pharaoh while Kbdj is not. We have consistently argued that for the duration of the Amyrtaeus rebellion Kbdj, though an active and powerful participant, took a back seat to the Saite prince Amyrtaeus. In the Assiout papyri, which we examine next, Kbdj assumes regal status, but only late in his 5th and through to his 8th year. Apparently it was the Bagapates invasion and the ensuing exile of Amyrtaeus which resulted in his elevation in office, precisely as stated in the Ktesian fragment.[448]

[448] The Ktesias fragment calls Combaphis a "powerful official" before the Bagapates invasion, and a "governor" afterward. This is by no means an argument against our conclusions that he declared himself "pharaoh" after the invasion. Amasis, according to the argument of this revision, was nothing more than a powerful palace official under Artaxerxes I and Darius II, yet he called himself a "pharaoh" and was recognized as such within Egypt. What is significant in the Ktesian fragment is the "change in status".

The Assiout Papyri

In his 1921 excavations of a large tomb in an animal necropolis at Assiout, Wainwright found a group of demotic papyri bundled together in a cache. According to the preliminary analysis of these documents by Henri Sottas[449] the six papyri originated from the end of the 6th century B.C.. All six bear dates which connect them with the final years of Amasis and the years of his successor, supposedly Cambyses. It is the dates rather than the contents of these documents that concern us here.

At least one of the papyri (#4) refers to the years 41, 42, and 43 of an unnamed king who, according to Sottas, could only be Amasis, who is clearly named on another papyrus in the group. A second papyrus (#5) refers to year 6 of a pharaoh Kb(j) (whom Sottas identifies as Cambyses) and two others (#3 and #6) mention years 5 and 7 respectively of what is probably this same pharaoh. The year 8 also occurs on one document. The identification of Kbdj as Cambyses prompts Sottas to comment on this unusual find. "Up to now," he remarks, "we possess no administrative or juridical document dated to Cambyses."[450]

The two primary documents in the group, papyri #1 and #2, are related to one another, and according to the editor, must be studied together. They deal with inheritance issues and involve members of the same extended family. The first is clearly dated to the year 8 of Kbdj and the second contains a reference to the year 28 of a king whose name is missing, but whom Sottas identifies as Amasis. Amasis is named several times in the 1st papyrus, Kbdj many times (with dates) in both.

This group of papyri present several serious anomalies which combine to challenge the chronological assessment provided them by Sottas and followed by all subsequent interpreters. We summarize:

1. It is observed by Sottas that in papyrus #1 all indications of royalty are denied to Amasis, while Kbdj is consistently referred to as pharaoh. He observes, correctly, that this is precisely the opposite of the characterization of these two dignitaries in the Demotic Chronicle where "Amasis is depicted as a king, while Cambyses and even Darius are named merely as individuals"[451].This disparate treatment should make us question not only the status of Kbdj but also that of Amasis. In the traditional history Amasis and Cambyses were uncontested rulers of all Egypt. Why would they not be identified as such in all documents which name them, especially in administrative/legal documents such as the Assiout papyri? In the revised history such ambivalence is to be expected. Amasis was subservient to Artaxerxes I and Darius II. Documents originating from a Persian context, as these six papyri certainly do, should reasonably ignore

[449] M. Henri Sottas, "Sur Quelques Papyrus Demotiques Provenant D'Assiout," ASAE 23 (1923) 34-46.
[450] Ibid., p. 36.
[451] Ibid., p. 46.

Amasis regal titles, while emphasizing the legitimacy of Kbdj, whose assistance in suppressing the Amyrtaeus rebellion warranted his elevation to pharaonic status. On the other hand the pro-Egyptian Demotic Chronicle could be expected to acknowledge the reign of Amasis while denying legitimacy not only to Kbdj, the collaborator/traitor, but even to Darius II himself, assuming that king is actually mentioned.[452]

2. The dates assigned to Kbdj in the Assiout papyri are a major problem for the traditional history. The fact that they number the years of Amasis through to the end of his reign all but demands that the years of Cambyses be numbered beginning with his conquest of Egypt. In that case the mention of his years 5-8 is inexplicable. If Kbdj is indeed Cambyses, who ruled Egypt for less than four years (525-522 B.C.) there is no reasonable explanation for the excessively high dates, which have engendered a protracted debate ever since Wainwright's discovery. The fact that the 2nd and 8th years of Kbdj are contained on the same papyrus precludes the possibility of alternative dating schemes being employed. So extreme is the difficulty that Devauchelle, the influential French demoticist/Egyptologist has recently proposed a dating scheme wherein Cambyses' Egyptian years were numbered from 525 B.C. (his 1st year) through to 519 B.C. (his 8th year), the last four years credited to Cambyses *even though he was dead*.[453] At minimum this interpretation underscores the bankruptcy of the traditional chronology.

There is no need for this debate. The problem is resolved entirely if Kbdj is correctly identified as a contemporary of Amyrtaeus, the successor of Amasis at the end of the 5th century. If he participated in the rebellion, as suggested by Ktesias, and became pharaoh in 399 B.C., the fifth year of his ministry under Amyrtaeus, and then backdated his regnal years to 404 B.C., the 1st year of the rebellion, the problem is solved. He may actually have been a self-styled pharaoh at the beginning of the rebellion. But even if Kbdj was only a vizier of Amyrtaeus during the rebellion, the fact that a papyrus drafted in his 8th year (when he was certainly pharaoh) uses the pharaonic title when referring back to his 2nd and 4th years, is not a significant objection. The fact that a pharaoh is "called by the kingly title for immediate identification, even in referring back to his activities of earlier days" is a phenomena called *prolepsis* by K.A. Kitchen, who documents its use in other circumstances.[454]

3. It is noted by Sottas that the name of Cambyses (Kbdj) in these papyri shows "a novel orthography which resembles the form of the name in the Demotic Chronicle." In fact the two spellings are identical. If the name can be deemed a shortened form of Cambyses by scholars, then there should be no objection to our treating it as a shortened form of the name Combaphis. In that sense nothing in the name appears to favor either the

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[452] We continued to deny that the name Darius appears in the Demotic Chronicle. If it is present, it is curious that Darius is not called a king.

[453] D. Devauchelle, "Un probleme de chronologie sous Cambyse," Transeuphratene 15 (1998) 9-17.

[454] K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 2nd (1986) sect.129, p. 160.

traditional or the revised chronology of the times. But the name of Cambyses is documented on many monuments other than the Petition, the Demotic Chronicle and the Assiout papyri discussed in this section. And everywhere else it differs significantly from the three hieroglyphs used here and in the Chronicle. There is no hint of any abbreviation of his name in any other inscription which unambiguously refers to his reign. The situation of Combaphis is unique. His name is not preserved other than by Ktesias and by these few Chronicle and Assiout inscriptions, this on the assumption that we are correct. There is no need to explain the abbreviation. It can be argued that this was the only spelling used by this dignitary, i.e. that Combaphis (used by Ktesias) is an epithet of Kbdj, not the reverse.

4. The fact that these six papyri were found together, and that the years 41-43 of Amasis and the years 2-8 of Kbdj appear severally in individual documents, suggests that they were all composed around the same time, i.e. in a very narrow time frame. Only the mention of the year 28 (of Amasis) on papyrus 2 is an anomaly. We suggest as a possibility that the papyrus #2 reference is to the 28th year of Darius II in his extended dating system, which would equate to the year 407 B.C., the same as the 43rd year of Amasis. If so then the entire body of Assiout papyri can be encompassed in a twelve year time span, a much more likely scenario.

On that note we leave Assiout and journey to the palace of Apries in Memphis.

The Palace of Apries

As we observed in an earlier chapter the palace of Apries was not, in fact, a palace. It was a fortress, complete with moat for withstanding a prolonged assault. It is not surprising, therefore, that when excavated by Petrie at the turn of the 20th century, there were discovered in its ruins very few artifacts of any antiquity. This was not a place where antiques might be expected to survive. The few surviving items are, on that account, of considerable interest. We repeat our earlier quote from Petrie.

> The things found in the palace were not numerous, but they were mostly of unusually fine quality, as we might expect, and they throw light on the length of use of the building after the time of Apries. Among some small pieces of late coloured sculpture, there was one with a fragment of a blank cartouche, on which had been painted the beginning of the name of Cambyses. The next dated object is the sling bullet of Khabbash who held Memphis 486-484 B.C. There was rough reconstruction after the XXVIth dynasty, as the slab of Tha-ast-en-amu, who appears to have been also called Aahmes-si-neit-rannu, was brought probably from his tomb. Of the time of Artaxerxes II, 402 B.C., there is a copy of a date on a document in Aramaic. Probably of the Persian age is the large quantity of scale armour... Then there is the bowl of Zeher, the last Pharaoh but one, 361-359 B.C., which shews that this was still the royal residence to the end

> of the kingdom. The moving of the court to Alexandria seems to have left the place deserted; no Ptolemaic pottery has been found in the palace, ... [455]

We have previously considered the sling bullet of Khabbash and the Persian armour. Such relics, if relics they be, are hardly out of place in a fortress. Nor is it surprising to find them in a facility which was still in use in the 4th century. The bullet may have been imbedded in a wall, or even intended for reuse. The armour may be 4th century military issue, dating from late in the 1st Persian domination (which we have extended into the reign of Achoris). The Artaxerxes II inscription and the bowl of Zeher also belong to the 4th century. But what of the cartouche of Cambyses and the slab of Thaastenamu. Both supposedly belong to the late 6th century? How do we explain their presence in a palace fortress still in use in the 4th century?

Petrie says nothing else about the cartouche. No photograph or drawing of it is included in the plates. The slab of Thaastenamu, an artisan employed by Amasis, or by a namesake of that king, is even more problematic on account of its bulk. How did it arrive in the 4th century context in which it was found? Sensing the problem, Petrie speculates that the monument was brought into the palace a century after its creation, "probably from his (Thaastenamu's) tomb."

We argue instead that the abbreviated name of Cambyses is actually the name of Kbdj and that it is therefore perfectly at home in an early 4th century fortress. Since the name is enclosed in a cartouche, it must date from 399-396 B.C., when Kbdj adopted regal titles. The fragment must be preserved in the storage rooms of the British Museum. It would be interesting to verify that the name of Kbdj, not Cambyses, is attested on this object, though nothing conclusive could be argued from the fact. In either case an ad hoc explanation could be provided to explain its presence.

Not so with the slab of Thaastenamu, for the problem is not just how this late 6th century monument ended up in a 4th century fortress, but how to explain its inscription. Petrie delegated the translation of the artifacts from his excavations at Memphis to J..H. Walker. The comments of Walker regarding the large inscribed slab of Thaastenamu bear repeating.

> On the right is a hand-copy of the photograph on Pl. XVII. The form of the man's name, Tha-ast-en-amu, in whose honour the inscription was written, is very interesting. Many instances are now known of this type of name, and it was evidently a favourite form of name at Memphis. In the different names one deity replaces another. In this man's name Isis is the goddess. In Memphis I. Pl. XXXII, Apis is the god in the name of Tha-hap-amu. It is interesting to note that the last name is spelt, in the last line on the back of the statue, Tha-hap-en-amu, corresponding exactly to the form Tha-ast-en-amu. It seems probable that the other name of Tha-ast-en-amu was Aahmes-si-neit. If this is so, it is placed

[455] W.M. Flinders Petrie, *The Palace of Apries* (1909), p. 11.

> in a most unusual manner, at the end of the opening phrase of his speech, after the cartouche of the king Khnum-ab-ra, whose name was also Aahmes-si-neit. It is hardly possible, however, to consider that this is meant for the king's name and not enclosed in a cartouche. It is less improbable, therefore, to consider that the name has been transferred from the usual place, immediately following the first name, to the place where the king's similar name would have occurred if the second cartouche had been written.

With this introduction Walker proceeds to translate the text:

> (1) The hereditary prince, the royal treasurer, the confidential friend, the one who is in the palace, the king's reporter, the scribe of the royal archives in the royal presence, Tha-ast-en-amu. He says, I made for thee (read k for neb) the judgment (?) - hall of (2) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Khnum-ab-ra. He was called Aahmes-si-neit. Thou (k for neb) madest me chief judge [lit. "over the listeners"] and possessor of the reward of merit in thy time (k for neb). I carried out all orders, and renewed thy works in (3) thy festival (?heb) of ... upon earth. I established thy name firmly on every place in the great hall. I built this palace, for the noblewoman Nebt-ankh, which the noble-woman Semset gave. (4) It was furnished with a lake, together with all beautiful gifts by the god, ... the years of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheper-ka-ra living for ever, in whose time I worked these things for thee (k for neb)."[456]

The fact that Thaastenamu was named after Ahmose-sa-neith (Amasis) suggests that he was born in that king's reign. If we correctly interpret the inscription he apparently supervised repairs or remodelling within the palace of Apries on orders from Amasis, probably late in that king's reign. But the end of the inscription suggests that further additions to the palace complex were added in the reign of "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheper-ka-ra." The fact that the name of Kheperkara is followed by the epithet "living forever" suggests that he is alive and that the monumental slabs were inscribed in his reign. But therein lies the problem.

Other than the infamous Sesostris I, who lived a thousand years earlier than Amasis (in the traditional history), there is only one other pharaoh known to bear the prenomen Kheperkara. The name belongs to Nekhtnebef, the first king of Manetho's 30th dynasty, whose dates are 380-363 B.C. Petrie is perplexed. He mentions the problem in passing and then leaves the matter. "It is not obvious at first whether the royal name *kheper-ka-ra* is that of Senusert I in remembrance, or whether it is of Nekht-neb-f in the XXXth dynasty."[457] But the problem cannot be so easily dismissed.

It is of course impossible that Thaastenamu could be born and exercise his duties under Amasis in the late 6th century and complete his work under Nekhtnebef in the first third

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[456] Ibid., pp. 20,21
[457] Ibid., p. 13.

of the 4th century. This inscription, in and of itself, proves the case for the revised history. The monument, which must weight hundreds of pounds, was not removed from Thaastenamu's tomb and laboriously moved into the palace fortress of Apries. It was very likely inscribed precisely where it was found, and by order of Thaastenamu himself, in an attempt to memorialize his repair work to the palace/fortress. The slab was probably erected only a few years before the palace was vacated, not long into the reign of Nekhtnebef. There is no problem in the fact that palace renovations were begun late in the reign of Amasis and completed early in the reign of Nekhtnebef. Only 24 years separates these two kings in the revised chronology.

We leave the matter there and journey up the Nile a thousand kilometres into Nubia.

Stela of Nastasenen

If Egypt was lost to Persia at the outbreak of the 3rd Egyptian rebellion under Amyrtaeus, so too would suzerainty over Nubia/Cush be lost. We would expect, therefore, that soon after Egypt was invaded and recovered for Persia by Bagapates and Kbdj, that some effort would be forthcoming to re-conquer Upper Egypt and the upper reaches of the Nile. In our chapter six reconstruction of the history of the Napatan and Meroitic kingdoms of ancient Nubia we dated Nastasenen, the last of Reisner's NK Group d kings, to the end of the 5th century. It follows that he was the ruler of Kush in 399 B.C., at the time of the invasion of Bagapates and the adoption of regal titles by Kbdj. If Combaphis/Kbdj led a Persian army to recover for Persia its Nubian territory he would have been opposed in that effort by this Meroitic king.

The stela of Ankhkara Nastasenen, a "massive grey granite slab about 5 feet, 6 inches high, inscribed on both sides in hieroglyphics", has been widely published since its discovery in the middle of the 19th century. A facsimile drawing with English translation and commentary was produced by E.A. Wallis Budge in *The Egyptian Sudan*[458] from which we quote extensively. In this lengthy inscription the Nubian king documents a lifetime of battles against adversaries along the upper Nile. Our attention is directed to a single conflict of particular interest.

> The chief Kambasuten came, and I made my bowmen to advance against him from the city Tchart. There was a great defeat (or slaughter); [I captured] all his weapons (?), and I made myself master of all the boats of his captains, and I routed and overthrew him. I seized all his lands, and all his oxen, cows, calves, and animals of every kind, and everything whereon men live, from the city of Kartapt to the city of Taruti-peht ...[459]

[458] E.A. Wallis Budge, The Egyptian Sudan (1986) New Impression (1907) 2 vols. II 84-101.
[459] Ibid., p. 100

For almost seventy years after this monument was first read, and with few exceptions, scholars accepted the Nastasenen stela inscription as including a reference to the invasion of the Sudan by Cambyses, son of Cyrus. Budge himself was an advocate of this interpretation. He remarks are representative:

> The name of the chief whom Nastasenen overthrew is written in the inscription Ka-m-ba-sa-u-t-n-? (hieroglyphs omitted). Brugsch transcribed these sign by Kambi ... uten, the fourth character being to him illegible, but Dr. Schaefer, after an examination of the stela itself, identified it as sa (hieroglyph omitted), and there is no doubt about the correctness of his reading The last sign may be (ideograph for city omitted), the determinative of "city", and (ideograph for man/official omitted), the last character of all, proves that the preceding characters are intended to form the name of the chief against whom Nastasenen fought. When we compare the group of characters with the variant spellings of the hieroglyphic forms of the name of Cambyses which are known from other monuments, there is no reasonable room for doubt that the foe of Nastasenen was Cambyses. The position of the city of Tchart, from which the bowmen sallied, is unknown, and it is futile at present to hazard guesses as to its situation. The boats which Nastasenen seized probably belonged to the natives on the river whom Cambyses pressed into his service. The camp, or camps, where the Persian had stored such supplies as he had were captured by the Nubians and all his cattle, but it is instructive to note the absence of any mention of gold or women among the articles of spoil. From his campaigns in the south Nastasenen obtained large numbers of women and gold, the quantities of which are carefully noted. Cambyses coming from the north had, naturally, no stores of gold, and the number of women who followed his army was probably small.[460]

It was not until the publication of the revised Nubian history of Reisner that scholars abandoned the theory of an invasion of Nubia by Cambyses in the days of Nastasenen. But from the mid-19th century until the second decade of the 20th the invasion was accepted as fact and the reign of Nastasenen was dated accordingly to the late 6th century B.C.. Reisner moved it into the late 4th century B.C.. We have adopted an intermediate position and date Nastasenen with some confidence to the late 5th/early 4th century. If we are correct he could not have fought with Cambyses, but he could have done battle with Combaphis/Kbdj, whose name is equally well represented by the hieroglyphs on the the stela of Nastasenen. The entire argument with respect to Cambyses can be repeated for Kbdj.

[460] Ibid., pp. 94,95.

Though we cannot prove it, we can at least speculate on the possibility that Kbdj died in the conflict, or shortly thereafter.

And with his death the history of Egypt as told in the textbooks once again rests on a reliable foundation. At long last the monuments and the classical historians seem to be telling the same story.

Appendix A

One of the few reasonable objections that can be raised to our proposed displacement of the Saite dynasty has already been dealt with. We refer to the supposed occurrence of the name Shabataka in an inscription of Sargon II discovered at Tang-I-Var and dated by the Assyriologist Grant Frame to 706 B.C.?. Critics of the current revision will be quick to point out that this date is reasonably close to the traditional dates for the 25th dynasty king who bears this name. That fact alone is sufficient to convince those who are already predisposed to maintain the status quo, of the reasonableness of their position. For the record, however, we present in greater detail our opinion of this inscription and the frailty of the conclusions based upon it.

The Tang-i Var Discovery

"One of the most important results of a series of surveys carried out by the Archaeological Service of Iran in 1968 was the discovery in Iranian Kurdistan of a neo-Assyrian relief with a cuneiform inscription. The relief is carved into a niche on the flanks of the Kuh-i Zinaneh in the Tang-i Var pass near the village of Tang-i Var". "Cut into the face of a vertical cliff at a point 40 m. above ground level" the relief is both difficult to access and badly preserved. Photographs and casts of the relief were made by the Iranian authorities and the find was announced and discussed by 'Ali Akbar Sarfaraz in a 1968-69 article in the journal *Iran*. Several photographs and some sketches were included in the journal article. "Regrettably, the inscription is badly worn and is basically illegible from the published photographs and copy." The Iranian authorities did not recognize its significance.

The inscription attracted very little attention in the western world. The journal article, written in Farsi, was largely ignored, though a few Assyrian specialists made note of its existence, and at least in one instance additional photographs were sought (see below). The fact that "it might be attributed to Tiglath-pilesar III or Sargon II was first suggested by Julian Reade in an article published in 1977", based on the legible portions of the text in photographs accessible to him.

The situation changed dramatically only a few years ago. We quote Grant Frame, the Assyriologist responsible for the recent developments:

> While carrying on work on the inscriptions of Sargon II for a volume of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia project, I noted the possibility that the inscription at Tang-i Var would need to go in that volume. Having been informed by Dr. I. D. Levine that Dr. Francois Vallat had taken photographs of the relief in the early 1970s, I wrote to Dr. Vallat about the matter. With great

> generosity, Dr. Vallat has allowed me to make use of all the photographic material that was in his possession (22 slides) and the edition presented below is based solely on this material. Dr. Vallat has informed me that he went to Tang-i Var in 1971 on behalf of the Susa mission and at the request of R. Labat. Dr. Vallat described the current state of the inscription and the difficulty he had in photographing it while dangling from a rope.[461]

The photographs obtained from Dr. Vallat were of sufficient quality to permit Dr. Frame to transcribe, then transliterate and translate the Tang-i Var inscription. The results of his efforts, and the revelation that the inscription contained a reference to the 25th dynasty king Shabataka, were announced to the scholarly world in 1999 at a March 20th session of the 209th meeting of the American Oriental Society (with the innocuous title "The Rock Relief at Tang-i Var") , and later that year in the journal *Orientalia* in an article entitled "The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var". The latter article is the source of all the information quoted above.

It is important to note that the photographs obtained by Dr. Vallat, those on which Frame depends for his transcription, are of poor quality. The reflection of the sunlight, the shadows created by the impressions of the cuneiform signs and by the sides of the niche into which the inscription was placed, and the deterioration of the rock itself, combine to obscure much of the text. Caution suggested to Dr. Frame that he should perhaps wait to obtain confirmation of his tentative transcription. Scholarly considerations encouraged an immediate publication. He describes his dilemma in the article:

> Because of the damaged nature of the inscription and the fact that some sections are inevitably better represented by the photographic materials than others, some parts of the text cannot be read and the reading of others is tentative. Nevertheless, it is possible to read a large portion of the inscription and to be certain that the ruler responsible for it was the Assyrian king Sargon II (721-705 B.C.). In view of the importance of the inscription and the length of time which it has lain unpublished it seems best to present this preliminary edition as it is, rather than wait until further photographs and/or casts should become available or until someone is able to collate the inscription in situ. Since any copy of the text made by me would be based solely upon the available photographic materials, I have decided to provide here the most useful photographs of the inscription (Figs. 3-18) rather than a copy of the text. (p. 34-5)

The Tang-i Var inscription was clearly the production of the Assyrian king Sargon II. It is, in fact, a summary of the major military accomplishments of his reign, the latest of which occurred in the last years of his life, perhaps as late as the year 707 B.C. Duplicate versions of many of the same events can be found on inscriptions in this king's palace at

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Khorsabad (Dûr Sharrukîn). The relevant section of Frame's translation, that which refers to the Iamani incident which provides the context for the inclusion of Shabataka's name, is contained in lines 19 to 21 of the inscription.

> 19 I plundered the city of Ashdod. Iamani, its king, feared [my weapons] and ... He fled to the region of the land of Meluhha and lived (there) stealthfully (literally: like a thief). 20 Šapataku' (Shebitku), king of the land of Meluhha, heard of the mig[ht] of the gods Aššur, Nabu, (and) Marduk which I had [demonstrated] over all lands ... 21 He put (Iamani) in manacles and handcuffs ... he had him brought captive into my presence.

Before proceeding we note one anomaly in Frame's translation, one to which we will return briefly in the final section of our discussion. Line 20 concludes with an indication (...) that words at the end of the line may be obscured in the cuneiform text. Line 19 does not. In fact, the sense of the translation assumes that no text intervenes between the flight of Iamani described in line 19 and the reaction of Shabataka in line 20. But in fact the end of every line in the Tang-i Var inscription is obscured by shadow, a fact indicated by the repetition of the symbol [(...)] at the conclusion of every line in the transliterated text that precedes the translation in the *Orientalia* article. As Frame notes at the beginning of his commentary, "Due to shadow on the photographs, it is not always clear how much, if anything at all, is missing at the right end of the lines. While [(...)] has regularly been put at the end of lines in the transliteration, the translation has generally ignored this." (p. 41). Clearly in line 19 Frame has decided that nothing is missing.

The Iamani incident referred to in lines 19-21 is known from three other inscriptions on the walls of Sargon's palace, and from a stela found elsewhere. It is important to review the details of the event insofar as they are known. We quote from an article by the Egyptologist D.B. Redford in an 1985 article in the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*.

> Thanks to a variety of studies over the last 25 years, the year 712 B.C. has emerged as an anchor date in the history of the Late Period in Egypt. The general course of events leading up to and culminating in the Assyrian campaign against Ashdod in that year is now fairly sure, and may be sketched as follows. Sometime early in 713 B.C. the Assyrians deposed Aziri, king of Ashdod on suspicion of *lese-majeste*, and appointed one Ahimetti to replace him. Very shortly thereafter, however, and probably still in 713, a spontaneous uprising of the Ashdod populace removed this Assyrian puppet in favor of a usurper Yamani. Throughout the fall and winter of 713 Yamani contacted the other Philistine cities and the inland states of Judah, Moab, and Edom in an effort to organize an anti-Assyrian coalition, and sent to "Pharaoh (Pir'u) king of Egypt" for aid. In the spring of 712, however, Sargon dispatched the tartan with a detachment of troops against Ashdod, and Yamani fled in haste to Egypt. Unable to find a safe haven in Egypt, Yamani passed clean through the land

> *ana ite Musri sa pat Meluhha*, "to the frontier of Egypt which is (contiguous) to the territory of Kush." At this point he fell into the hands of the king of Kush who, at an unspecified later date, extradited him to Assyria. (pp.6-7)

The point being made by Redford in this article is that the king of Egypt (Pir'u, king of Musri) mentioned in the Assyrian annals must be the last king of Manetho's 24th dynasty (Bocchoris). He is clearly distinguished from the king of Melukkha., who must therefore be Shabaka, the king in waiting. [For the contrary opinion held by K.A. Kitchen and others, see below] It follows from these considerations that Shabaka has not yet conquered Egypt. Largely on this basis Redford, and many others, argue that Shabaka's conquest of Egypt must have taken place in 712 B.C. at the earliest. The chronology is very tight.

> If the Assyrians attacked at the earliest possible time of the year (Nisan) in 712, and if Yamani took to flight immediately, he would scarcely have reached Kush in less than 5 or 6 weeks, which would put his arrival there no earlier than the middle of June. We would be safe in assuming, however, that by the end of the summer he had attained the frontier of Kush. By using an unusual locution, the Assyrian scribe explicitly conveys an important fact which he is aware of, viz. that Yamani's flight took him all the way to the border between Egypt and Kush at Elephantine, and that only then did he enter territory belonging to the Kushite king. In other words, the campaign of Shabaka which finally won Egypt for the 25th Dynasty and terminated the regime and life of Bocchoris, had not yet taken place by the late summer of 712 B.C. (p. 8)

Redford goes on to conclude that the invasion of Egypt by Shabaka most likely occurred late in 712 B.C., and, since dated monuments of this king attest a reign of at minimum 15 years, he derives the dates 712-698 B.C. for this king. Based on other consideration, not discussed in his 1985 article, Redford dated the reign of Shabataka, Shabaka's successor, to the years 699-690 B.C., assuming a brief "corregency" between Shabaka and Shabataka. For Redford, as for all Egyptologists, the 690-664 B.C. reign of Taharka, the ultimate king of the dynasty, is accepted as axiomatic.

Frame recognized from the outset that the Tang-i Var inscription provides "an important piece of new information with regard to the episode of Iamani of Ashdod, a piece of information which will require Egyptologists to revise their current absolute chronology for Egypt's twenty-fifth dynasty." By "new information" he refers to the newly revealed identity of the king of Melukkha who captured Iamani and surrendered the fugitive king to Sargon. Without exception, all Egyptologists prior to the Tang-i Var discovery had identified this king as Shabaka. For Redford, the identification was pivotal. Before we read Frame's opinion on the import of the new discovery we should understand clearly the two schools of thought which preceded the Tang-i Var discovery.

One group of scholars, of which Redford is a major proponent, understand from the Assyrian texts that in 712 B.C. Egypt was ruled by a single pharaoh, referred to as "Pir'u

king of Musri", who must be distinguished from the king of Melukkha referred to in the same texts. As we have already stated, only one possible scenario presents itself once this political bifurcation is assumed. Bocchoris must be the king of Egypt; Shabaka must be the king of Melukkha, soon to invade and conquer the country and begin the 25th dynasty.

The other group of scholars, represented most notably by K.A. Kitchen, believe that "Pir'u, king of Musri" and the "king of Melukkha" are one and the same king. They date the reign of Shabaka on other bases, and interpret the Assyrian references in ways that will support their independently established chronology. Kitchen, for example, places Shabaka in the time frame 716-702 B.C., overlapping the Iamani incident. This compels him to equate the kings of Musri and Melukha. (TIP 341) That equation does not derive naturally from a reading of the Assyrian texts.

The revelation that the king of Melukkha in the Iamani incident is Shabataka, not Shabaka, requires a dramatic reconstruction for both of these groups. In order to better understand the implications of the discovery we reproduce below the four possible chronologies which might explain the new data. The four groups represent the only three possible identifications of "Pir'u, king of Musri" who ruled Egypt at the time of the Ashdod rebellion in 713 B.C.

Table 19: Chronology assuming Pir'u is not Shabaka (Redford Group)

.Date	Egyptian Pharaoh	King of Melukkha
713 B.C.	King of 24th or prior Dynasty	Shabaka
712 or soon thereafter	Shabaka invasion	Shabaka
706 or x years earlier	Shabaka	Shabataka replaces Shabaka (Iamani incident soon after)

Table 20: Chronology assuming Pir'u is Shabaka (Kitchen Group)

Date	Egyptian Pharaoh	King of Melukkha
713 B.C.	Shabaka (y years after conquest of Egypt	Shabaka
706 or x years earlier	Shabaka	Shabataka replaces Shabaka (Iamani incident soon after)

Table 21: Alternate Chronology assuming Pir'u is Shabaka

Date	Egyptian Pharaoh	King of Melukkha
713 B.C.	Shabaka (y years after conquest of Egypt	Shabaka
intermediate year	Shabaka dies. Shabataka replaces Shabaka	Shabataka
706 or x years earlier	Shabataka	Shabataka (Iamani incident)

Table 22: Chronology assuming Pir'u is Shabataka

Date	Egyptian Pharaoh	King of Melukkha
713 B.C.	Shabataka	Shabataka
706 or x years earlier	Shabataka	Shabataka (Iamani incident)

We will discuss aspects of these four chronologies later. It is time to hear Frame's impression of the newly discovered text:

> Neither the Display Inscription nor the Display Inscription of 'Room XIV mentions the name of the ruler of Melukkha who sent the fugitive Iamani to Sargon for punishment and it has generally been assumed that the ruler in question was Shabaka (or Shabako), a ruler of Egypt's twenty-fifth dynasty". This dynasty, also known as the Kushite or Napatan dynasty, came from Nubia, which was referred to by the ancient place name "Melukkha" in Neo-Assyrian texts. Shabaka's reign has been dated to 716-702 B.C. by most recent scholars, although the possibility that he reigned 714-700, with the last two years of his reign being a corregency with his successor has also been raised". Shabaka was succeeded by his nephew Shebitku (or Shabataka), the son of Shabaka' s predecessor, Piankhi. Most scholars have assumed that Shebitku's reign should be dated to 702-690 B.C., thus assuming that he ascended the throne during the reign of Sennacherib". Line 20 of the Tang-i Var inscription, however, states that the ruler who extradited Iamani during the reign of Sargon was Shebitku (^{m}ša pa ta ku $^{\lceil}$u$^{\rfloor}$). This would thus raise difficulties for the current Egyptian chronology. The Tang-i Var inscription almost certainly dates to the year 706 (see above) and must have been composed before Sargon's death in 705. The other two inscriptions of Sargon referring to the forced return of Iamani also date from late in Sargon's reign. Both the Display Inscription and the Display Inscription of Room XIV record matter involved with the completion of the new capital of Dur-Sarrukin and, as already mentioned, that city was inaugurated on the sixth day of the second month of 706. Thus, the Tang-i Var inscription would indicate that Shebitku was already ruler by 706, at least four years earlier than has generally been thought. We still do not know exactly when Iamani was delivered up to Sargon. Sargon's capture of Ashdod is recorded in the king's annals for his eleventh regnal year, but no mention is made of either Iamani's flight or extradition. It is not impossible that although Shebitku was ruler at the time the Tang-i Var inscription was composed, Iamani had actually been returned in the time of the previous ruler, Shabaka. The Assyrian scribe of the inscription could conceivably have credited the action to the current ruler of Egypt rather than the preceding one. Nevertheless, it seems likely that sometime between about 712 and 706 Iamani was delivered up to Sargon and that the Kushite ruler of Egypt at that time was Shebitku: certainly Shebitku seems to have been ruler by 706. (pp. 53-4)

We immediately notice two things in Frame's discussion of the Shabataka reference. In the first place he doesn't mention the Redford chronology, though perhaps deliberately, since, as we shall see, Redford provides an accompanying article to explain his point of view. We are more surprised to see Frame describing the Iamani incident as if it might have taken place in 706 B.C.? What is happening? The answer is transparent. He is reinterpreting the history of the Iamani incident in such a way as to marginalize the

problem. All interpreters do the same. The response was predictable. But we should read his comments carefully on that account. We would miss the point of Frame's discussion if we think that the only problem that results from the Tang-i Var text is the necessity of dating the beginning of Shabataka's reign four years earlier than is typically done. What is the gist of Frame's argument?

There exist only two possible interpretations of the Iamani incident in light of the revelations of the Tang-i Var inscription, read in conjunction with the parallel texts. Frame discusses them both. Either Shabataka was the Melukkhan king who captured and extradited Iamani, or he was not.[462] If Shabataka was the Melukkhan king, then the most pressing question is the date of the Iamani incident. There is really only one possibility - 712 B.C. But the earlier the date, the greater the problem for Egyptologists and traditional historians. Thus the balance of Frame's discussion argues the possibility that the Iamani incident took place later than 712 B.C. Frame spends most of his time demonstrating that the Tang-I Var relief was inscribed around 706 B.C., thus establishing the latest possible date for the capture and return of Iamani. This is all fine and good, as long as we do not confuse "lowest possible date" and "lowest probable date". There are good reasons for maintaining the 712 B.C. date. We cite the two most obvious.

1. A straightforward reading of the Assyrian texts tells us that the Iamani incident took place in 712 B.C. All the discussion in the world does not change that fact. All interpreters of the Assyrian texts for well over a century, scholars from all persuasions, have concluded that Iamani was captured soon after his flight to freedom. Even Redford assumed that as a fact when, in his article quoted above, he stated that "at this point he (Iamani) fell into the hands of the king of Kush who, at an unspecified *later date*, extradited him to Assyria." But it matters not at all if Iamani was captured in 712 B.C. and returned to Sargon as much as six years later. The parallel texts state that the king of Melukkha who captured Iamani also acted to return him to the Assyrian king. And the Tang-i Var inscription attributes both actions to Shabataka. If we assume a period of years between the capture and return of Iamani, that merely forces us to move the beginning of Shabataka's reign back an identical number of years. We will assume, in the discussion that follows (and in the tables above), that extradition followed capture immediately.

2. The fact that the palace inscriptions and the Tang-i Var text were inscribed in the year 706 B.C. all but demands that the incidents referred to, including the activities of Shabataka, took place at a much earlier date. Those annals look back as far as the beginning of Sargon's reign. The *latest* datable incident took place in 707 B.C., but most are much earlier. And why, we ask, would the annalist not indicate a separation in time

[462] There is no point our discussing error in this essay, though I suspect the possibility will be raised more and more as Egyptologists scramble to escape the dilemma caused by the presence of Shabataka's name. If an error is to be conjectured why not simply assume that the annalist spelled the name of Shabaka wrong? If so we can end our discussion here.

if one took place. All versions of the Iamani incident which document the flight of Iamani in 712 B.C. go on immediately to recount his capture and extradition and then proceed to relate other accomplishments of Sargon. There is no hint that the return of Iamani was the last event in Sargon's illustrious career, an addendum added to his annals at the last moment. Unless we assume that the Shabataka news was "hot off the press" and that the return of Iamani took place as the inscriptions were in progress, only to be inserted into the text of an incomplete story, then we must date the return of Iamani much earlier than 706 B.C. How much earlier is the only question?

But determining the date of the Iamani capture is not the only problem that manifests itself when we examine the chronological possibilities. In two of the four suggested chronologies (tables 19 and 20) we have the untenable circumstance of Shabaka ruling Egypt while Shabataka is ruling Melukkha. This scenario makes absolutely no sense. There are a host of objections. While the possibility of a corregency between the two pharaohs has often been proposed, no scholar has ever suggested that Shabaka yielded sovereignty of Melukkha to his nephew shortly after he conquered Egypt. And why would Shabataka, ruling over a country far removed from the influence of the Assyrians, feel any need to kowtow to Sargon, when Egypt, ruled by his uncle, served a protective buffer shielding him from any possible harm. Why also would Shabaka allow his nephew to take this action, something which he himself had refused to do for a number of years? A final problem centers around the status of Melukkha as a national entity. Sargon speaks of Melukkha as if it were a separate country, not a province of the Egyptian Empire. Shabataka's action in capturing and extraditing Iamani is that of a sovereign king of a sovereign nation. This cannot be a "corregency" under any circumstance.

Any explanation proposed for the Tang-i Var inscription which assumes that Shabaka is ruling in Egypt with Shabataka as co-ruler in the extreme south, bearing the title king of Melukkha, must, in our estimation, be set aside. The text of the palace Display Inscription clearly portrays the king of Melukkha as a sovereign in his own right ruling in the remote regions bordering on the south of Egypt, not the nephew of the king of Egypt, sharing his throne. Listen to the annalist!

> The king of Melukkha who [lives] in [a distant country], in an inapproachable region, the road [to which is ...], whose fathers never - from remote days until now" - had sent messengers to inquire after the health of my royal forefathers, he did hear, even (that) far away, of the might of Ashur, Nebo (and) Marduk. The awe-inspiring glamour of my kingship blinded him and terror overcame him. He threw him (i.e. Iamani) in fetters, shackles and iron hands, and they brought him to Assyria, a long journey. ANET 286

Under no circumstances can the king of Melukkha and the king of Egypt be considered as close relatives. The suggested chronologies in tables 19 and 20 must be rejected outright. The two remaining viable alternatives (tables 21 & 22) assume that either Shabaka or Shabataka ruled the whole of Egypt and Melukkha in 713 B.C. And since we

argue that the Iamani incident took place in or near 712 B.C., there is little to choose between the two possibilities.

Both these remaining options are fraught with difficulties. Both require assigning Shabataka a reign length of upwards of 22 years. And both depend on the identity of the Pir'u of Musri and the king of Melukkha in the Assyrian annals, a contentious issue discussed earlier in this essay. Redford justifiably argues for a distinction between the two kings. That is what the Assyrian texts seem to describe. We agree with him. But if so then these two remaining chronologies must also be rejected. We are faced with a classic case of "damned if you do" but "damned if you don't". We cannot tolerate a distinction between the two kings; neither can we justify equating them.

It should follow from the argument thus far that none of the proposed chronologies adequately explains the data in the Assyrian annals. The only legitimate response is to question the viability of the traditional history which creates the problem.

Frame is clearly uncomfortable with the implications of the inscription (why else would he mention the possibility of error) and in the Orientalia article he turns the discussion over to his colleague, none other than the same D.B. Redford quoted many times already, whose history is most severely challenged by the newly discovered text.

> My colleague at the University of Toronto, Prof. Donald B. Redford has kindly prepared a brief study of the implications this passage in the Tang-i Var inscription has for Egyptian chronology of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and it is presented immediately following this article. (p. 54)

Redford's Orientalia article is brief, as its title indicates.[463]. As he had done in 1985, Redford continues to maintain the centrality of the year 712, though he does make some concessions. Shabaka's invasion of Egypt, he argues, need not have taken place in 712 B.C., but it must postdate the year 713 B.C.. His revised chronology is essentially that represented by our table 19. He begins by espousing the 706 B.C. minimum date for the beginning of Shabataka's reign, as if that were established as the probable date by Frame. To make matters worse he actually reduces the date to 706-705 B.C., with a hint that even the year 705 B.C. is possible, as if Iamani could be captured, transported two thousand miles to the Khorsabad palace, while news of the event was transmitted to Tang-i Var , there to be added to the rock relief, all this in the last days of Sargon's life.

> "The death of Sargon II is now the *terminus ante quem* for the appearance of Shebitku with a title indicating the status of a head of state. Since the stela most probably was inscribed in Sargon's final year, the extradition of Yamani could have taken place as late as 706-705 B.C.". (p. 58)

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[463] D.B. Redford, "A Note on the Chronology of Dynasty 25 and the Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var", Orientalia 68 (1999) 58-60

To be fair Redford does express a reservation. He acknowledges that the extradition of Yamani "*could have taken place* as late as 706-705 B.C.". But the initial caution is soon set aside and Redford proceeds on the assumption that this latest possible date for the beginning of Shabataka's reign is in fact the correct date. He seems preoccupied with determining the *chronological* consequences of Shabataka ruling alongside Shabaka in 705 B.C., rather than explaining the problematic character of this assumed corregency. For the record we quote from his Orientalia article:

> If Shabaka maintained the same sequence of regnal years from his accession, presumably on the death of Pi(ankh)y, and did not associate Shebitku with him as coregent, then the new evidence would oblige us to place his accession no later than 720 B.C., and possibly higher according as his reign exceeded 15 years. His conquest of Egypt, clearly accomplished by his year 2, and the consequent termination of the 24th Dynasty, could have fallen no later that 719 B.C. But this presents a major difficulty. For the decade preceding 713/12 B.C. the Assyrian and Biblical records contain several allusions to Egyptian rulers, but none of them can be interpreted as an allusion to a Kushite king ruling over Egypt. The individuals referred to must, in fact, be the ephemeral or otherwise unidentified rulers belonging to pre-25th Dynasty regimes. The implication, then, is that as late as 713 B.C. when Yamani sought aid from Pir'u, Shabaka's invasion had not yet taken place. It follows that Shabaka year 1 must fall in or after 713 B.C., and his 15th in or after 699 B.C. (p. 59)

The proposed dates for Shabaka have not changed appreciably since Redford's 1986 article. There is no point in objecting. It is not the date when Shabaka began to rule which causes the problem with the chronologies of tables 19 and 20. It is the fact that the dual kingships of Shabaka and Shabataka make no sense. Redford does discuss the joint reign but is clearly uncomfortable with the concept. Shabataka, he claims, had the "trappings of kingship" as he "administered" the Kushite homeland. (Let the reader decide if this description suits the king of Melukkha in his actions vis-à-vis Iamani and the Assyrian ruler.) He fails to discuss the problems associated with the extended length of Shabataka's reign.

> One solution might be to resuscitate the old theory of a "corregency" between Shabaka and Shebitku, although in the past such a notion has won only half-hearted acceptance. One is struck by the fact that, while Shabaka's dated texts (in the main private documents from the business community or the chancery, and therefore liable to date by the years of the regime in power) are relatively plentiful from the thebaid to the Delta, Shebitku's are conspicuous by their absence. Only the year 3 graffito from the Karnak quay is a clearly attested text germane to the problem of a corregency. It is conceivable that, with Shabaka's conquest of the lower Nile valley and the subsequent removal of the royal administration to Memphis, the conqueror had created the necessity of a bifurcation in the government of his vast dominion. While his own reign

> provided the dating scheme, Shabaka had, by his 8th year, realized the need to separate off the administration of the Kushite heartland; and this he assigned to his nephew Shebitku, complete with the trappings of kingship. One of the latter's initial acts would have been the extradition of Yamani who, as the text says, had fled ana pat Meluhha, and had been living there ever since." (p. 60)

For the most part Redford has avoided dealing with the issues we raised earlier. He had little choice. The problems have no ready answer in the framework of the traditional history.

We conclude this section of our discussion with a few remarks on the length of Shabataka's reign, since this is the second difficulty with the remaining viable chronologies (tables 21 and 22), those which assume that Shabataka ruled both Egypt and Melukkha for upwards of 22 years.. Lest the reader fail to appreciate the extent of this aspect of the chronological problem we should review a few details of the traditional history of the 25th dynasty. In that history it is an accepted fact that the terminal king Taharka ruled Egypt for 26 years, from 690-664 B.C.. Those dates are incontrovertible and are considered "certain", not only by Egyptologists, but by scholars from all related persuasions, and even by the growing field of "revisionists" who question the reliability of Egyptian chronology in earlier ages (the present author excepted). The dates for Taharka cannot move by more than a year without causing serious disruption to the entire history of the late period. Dates earlier than Taharka are in flux. The only certain date for earlier kings is the year 690 B.C. for the death of Shabataka. The only remaining question regarding this king is the date when his reign began. At most he is assigned 13 years, based largely on Manetho, as interpreted by Africanus (who records 14 years) and Eusebius (who records 12 years). At minimum he is credited with 3 years, based on the fact that no monument exists bearing his name with a year date higher than that number. His dates vary accordingly from 703-690 B.C. to 693-690 B.C.

The higher number for Shabataka (13 years) is adopted for one reason only, to assist in solving a problem of long standing in biblical interpretation. The text of 2 Kings 19:9, which describes the 701 B.C. siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, Sargon's successor on the Assyrian throne, relates how the Assyrian king responded "when he heard concerning Tirhakah, king of Cush, that he was coming out to fight against him". Tirhakah in this text is identified with Taharka by all but a few scholars (interestingly, Redford is one of the exceptions), this in spite of the fact that Taharka's kingship began eleven years later. The identification makes no sense, but is maintained nevertheless for expediency. Who else could Tirhakah be if not the 25th dynasty king in waiting, since the 25th dynasty is firmly entrenched in that time frame in the traditional history.? But since a hieroglyphic text, originating from a temple in Kawa, states specifically that Taharka was summoned to Egypt for the first time by his brother Shabataka, at the time ruling within Egypt, it must be the case that Shabataka's reign began some time prior to 701 B.C.. It follows that Shabataka's reign should be dated at least as early as 702 B.C., *in spite of the lack of monumental evidence.*

The lengthening of Shabataka's reign to accommodate the reference to Taharka as king of Egypt in 701 B.C. is a classic case of one mistake begetting another - bad history creating further historical error. There is no monumental evidence suggesting that Shabataka reigned more than a few years. In all of Egypt there are but a handful of allusions to his presence. Raising the length of his reign from three to twelve or thirteen years, as was done before the Tang-i Var discovery, was problematic enough, some would say completely unjustified, a conclusion reached by many scholars who refuse to credit this king with more than the 3 years demanded by the monuments, this in spite of the supposed biblical reference to Taharka. To now raise the length of his reign to 22 years and counting goes beyond the pale. And what will be the outcome when historians attempt to fit the 727-712 B.C. minimum dates for Shabaka into the already crowded decades of the late 8th century. It will be interesting to see how the debate continues.

With this brief history in view we ask the question which prompted this entire discussion. How does the revised history explain the reference to Shabataka in a Sargonid text inscribed in the year 706 B.C. apparently attesting the reign of this Melukkhan king as early as 712 B.C.? For it goes without saying that if the "king of Melukkha" named "Shabataku" is the same as the 25th dynasty king Shabataka, the successor of Shabaka, then the entire argument in *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile,* the initial book in this *Displaced Dynasties* series, is null and void. In the revised history detailed in this book the Egyptian reign of Taharka, the successor of Shabataka, began in 569 B.C., not in 690 B.C., and it ended abruptly six years later (564 B.C.) when he was driven from Egypt by the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar. According to this same history Shabataka, whose reign preceded that of Taharka, must have died in 569 B.C. He cannot have acted in 712 B.C. or even in 705 B.C. to return the exiled Iamani to the Assyrian king Sargon.

It appears at first glance that the critic is justified in citing the Tang-i Var inscription as the death knell of the revised history? But the pronouncement of doom is premature. The criticism is without foundation. We object on two grounds. On the one hand we argue that the name of Shabataka is not actually present in the text, i.e. that Grant Frame has mistranscribed the cuneiform inscription in line 20. On the other hand we maintain that even if the name were present the problems it creates belong exclusively to the traditional history, not the revised alternative. We argue the case in the reverse order, first assuming the presence of the name, then arguing for its absence.

Shabataku - Brother or Ancestor of Taharka?

It seems strange to this author that any knowledgeable critic would argue that a king of Melukkha named Shabataku, of uncertain ancestry, named in a neo-Assyrian inscription dated late in the 8th century, *must necessarily* refer to the 25th dynasty Egyptian king of Cushite origin named Shabataka who ruled Egypt immediately prior to Taharka. We admit the attractiveness of this identification for proponents of the traditional history.

Both kings have the same name. Both kings are connected directly or indirectly with a land contiguous with Egypt, possibly, though not necessarily, identical with ancient Cush. And most significantly for proponents of the traditional history, the dates for Shabataka are in reasonable agreement with the c.a. 706 B.C. date assigned to the Iamani incident by Frame and Redford. But "reasonable agreement" is the operative phrase. As we have just seen, the name creates severe problems for the traditional history. Not so for the revised history.

According to Manetho the 25th Egyptian dynasty consisted of "three Ethiopian kings" named Sabacon, Sebichos and Tarcos, identified by Egyptologists as the kings Shabaka, Shabataka, and Taharka of the monuments. Beyond the fact that Shabataka and Taharka are brothers, nothing definite is known about the ancestry of these kings. Even their parentage is not clearly established. It is assumed that Shabaka is of the generation prior to Shabataka and Taharka, and that he is possibly the father of the two brothers, but that fact is not certain. It is further assumed that Shabaka was either a brother or possibly a son of Piankhi who conquered the Egyptian delta earlier, in his 20th year. But again there is no confirmation of the fact. Of the ancestry of this royal family earlier than Piankhi very little is known. Some connection with a king named Kashta is conjectured. Others relate the family to the enigmatic king Rudamon, whose life intertwines with events discussed earlier in this book. Absolutely nothing is known of the generations of this family further back than Kashta.

In light of this lack of knowledge we might well rest our case. We have positioned Shabaka and Shabataka in the time frame 640-570 B.C.. The presence of an ancestor three of four generations removed, identified as a king of Melukkha and bearing a similar name, can hardly be considered a serious objection to the revised history. It would be surprising indeed if several of the ancestors of Shabaka and Shabataka did not bear this name. Several factors combine to argue the case. They have been mentioned in an earlier chapter of our book, but deserve repetition.. The most obvious is the fact that two of the three named kings of the dynasty bear the name in variant forms, attesting, if nothing else, its popularity. It is said that the name *sab* means "wild cat", an appropriate and therefore desirable name for a tribal chieftain who wished to highlight his cunning and physical prowess. According to Flinders Petrie in his discussion of the name of Shabaka:

> The present Nubian for the male wild cat is *Sab*, and *ki* is the article post-fixed. Hence in popular talk it is very likely that the king was known as *Sab* or *Shab*... HE III 284

Petrie argues further that the name passed from father to son, and that in consequence Shabataka was a son of Shabaka.

> That Shabatoka was a son of Shabaka is indicated by his name, the syllable *to* or *ato* meaning "son," and being inserted in its grammatical place before the article *ka* or *ki*. HE III 286

It is immaterial whether Petrie is correct in his assessment of the names. The fact that two of the three known kings of the family dynasty preferred the name suggests strongly that it was commonplace within the family. It may even have become a title. If a patronym it might have been passed down for centuries. In fact there does exist a memory, preserved by the Jewish scribes, attesting that very fact. In the table of nations, preserved in the 10th chapter of Genesis (Bereshith) in the Hebrew Bible, the ancestry of the Cushites is traced to Cush, a son of Ham, one of the three sons of Noah.

> The sons of Ham: Cush, Mizraim, Put and Canaan. The sons of Cush: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah and Sabteca. Genesis 10:6,7

Once again the prevalence of the name *Sab* is apparent. In this case three of the five named sons of Cush - Seba, Sabtah and Sabteca - appear to derive their names from that same linguistic stem. And the name *Sabteca* is arguably the same as that of the king of Melukkha in the days of Sargon of Assyria and that of the Cushite king of Egypt who preceded Taharka in the days of Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon. *It was not an uncommon name.*

At best the critic can argue that temporal considerations favor the identification with Shabataka of the 25th dynasty. Better to equate the Shabataku mentioned in the Tang-i Var inscription with a king who lived at the time the inscription was recorded than to identify him as an ancestor of a king who lived a century later. Or so the reasoning might go, all other things being equal. But as we have already seen, a host of problems surround the identification of the Tang-i Var king of Melukkha with the 25th dynasty king of Egypt. Those problems are sufficiently serious to rule out the identification entirely. Viewed in this light, not only does the Tang-i Var text fail to discredit the revised history, rather, it constitutes an argument in its favor.

The identification of Shabataku, king of Melukkha as an ancestor of Taharka accords well with the revised history of the late 8th century. We have previously argued that the powerful 22nd dynasty king Osorkon II died in the year 712 B.C. and that toward the end of his reign and in the years immediately following, Egypt became increasingly fragmented. Sheshonk III and Pedubast I, and possibly others, contested for power in the north and a usurper, Takeloth II, emerged in the Theban area, founding the competing 23rd dynasty. We have also argued that this Takeloth/Takeroth II was the opponent of Sennacherib in 701 B.C., and was referenced as Tirhakah, "king of Cush" in 2 Kings 19:9. In the accompanying discussion it was stated, based on arguments supplied by Egyptologists, that Takeloth II was a Theban king and "arguably a king of Cush". The geographical term "Cush" in the late 8th and early 7th centuries, at least as used by Jewish and Assyrian scribes, was all but synonymous with "Upper Egypt". Melukkha must lie further south, "in [a distant country], in an inapproachable region" to use the words of the Assyrian scribe. We assume that Shabataku, king of Melukkha, ruled his kingdom as a contemporary of Takeloth II, Sheshonk III and Pedubast I. This duality of multiple kings ruling Egypt while a "king of Melukkha" ruled the remote regions of the Upper Nile is precisely the situation described elsewhere in the Assyrian inscriptions. In

the annals of Sennacherib which document his 3rd campaign (701 B.C.), in the midst of a description of his assault on the cities of Judah, it is noted that Hezekiah, the king of Jerusalem

> ... had become afraid and had called (for help) upon the *kings of Egypt* (Mus(u)ri) (and) the bowmen, the chariot(-corps) and the cavalry of the king of Ethiopia (Meluhha), an army beyond counting - and they (actually) had come to their assistance. In the plain of Eltekeh (Al-ta-qu-u), their battle lines were drawn up against me and they sharpened their weapons. Upon a trust (-inspiring) oracle (given) by Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and inflicted a defeat upon them. In the melee of the battle, I personally captured alive the Egyptian charioteers with the(ir) princes and (also) the charioteers of the king of Ethiopia. (ANET 288)

"Kings of Egypt" in this inscription may refer to Sheshonk III, Pedubast I and Takeloth II.[464] There may be others. The king of Melukkha could be the Shabataku who returned Iamani to Sargon II ten years earlier. Or he may be a successor of this king. The idea of multiple kings of Egypt existing alongside of an independent king of Melukkha is entirely foreign to any historical situation that can be hypothesized for the late 25th dynasty, when either Shabataka or Shabaka is considered to have ruled all of Egypt, including the lands southward as far as the 4th cataract.

We repeat our earlier claim. The presence of the name Shabataku in the Tang-i Var inscription is a problem for the traditional history. It does nothing but affirm the essential reliability of the revised history.

For Frame and Redford there is no convenient solution to the problem of the Tang-i Var text. The two authors have no alternative but to identify Shabataku and Shabataka. It is not the correspondence in name and country which demands the identification. Far from it. If the Tang-i Var rock inscription were ascribed to any Assyrian king earlier than Sargon, or even if were dated at the beginning of Sargon's reign, then the equation Shabataku = Shabataka would not have been given a moments consideration. The two scholars would have arrived at the same conclusions reached by the present author, that Shabataku was at best an ancestor of the 25th dynasty kings. It was the correspondence in date alone that forced the hand of the interpreters. The reign of Sargon (722-705 B.C.) during which the Iamani incident took place overlaps the chronological placement of the 25th dynasty kings Shabaka and Shabataka in the traditional history, leaving no alternative but to identify Shabataku with Shabataka. There is no room for another king of like name occupying the same time frame. Shabataku cannot be an ancestor of Shabataka if the traditional history is correct. He must be the 25th dynasty king himself.

---

[464] We have previously discussed the problems interpreting the geographical terms Cush and Melukkha as used by biblical and Assyrian scribes. Earlier we proposed an alternative explanation of the Assyrian references in this problematic text (see above pages 77-78 and note 83)

But the very same temporal considerations which demand the identification combine to damn it. The only alternative is to question the traditional history which creates the problem.

In view of what has been argued we should conclude the argument here. The Tang-i Var inscription does not support the traditional history and it does not condemn the dates for the 25th dynasty proposed in *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*.

When the substance of this book was first published in html format on-the internet we omitted any reference to the Tang-i Var inscription from the argument in the book itself, relegating discussion, as here, to a sort of appendix. Its inclusion would have necessitated extensive discussion which would have detracted from the flow of the argument, and the presence of the name was not a problem which needed to be defended, a fact we have just argued. That would have been sufficient reason to ignore it. But in fact that was not the actual justification for its exclusion. At the time there existed in my mind a more fundamental reason. When I first read Frame's article in the fall of 1999 I could not read the name Shabataka in the text. What Frame read as ša-pa-ta-ku-[u] I read as ša pa-at-tu-[u] and have subsequently come to read as ša pa-at tu-[?]. The concluding section of this article is dedicated to a discussion of the proposed emendation.

Shabataku or "ša pa-at tu-?"

There are several reasons for believing that the four cuneiform characters read ša-pa-ta-ka- on line 20 in the Tang-i Var inscription should be read ša pa-at tu- . There are also many reasons for agreeing with Frame. Since I would prefer to see the name than to argue for its absence I will present both sides of the argument.

The presence of the name of Shabataku in the Tang-i Var inscription is unexpected. As we have noted several times already, two other inscriptions describe the same incident and neither one supplies the name of the Melukkhan king. This omission is particularly surprising for two reasons. Both these alternative texts are located in the palace annals of Sargon, lining the walls of palace rooms, where they would be constantly viewed by the Assyrian king and where he would most likely supply the name of the king whose act of contrition is celebrated therein. And one of these texts, the Display Inscription, is much more detailed in its description of events related to the Iamani incident than is the Tang-i Var text. We wonder why the name of Shabataku is supplied only in a rock inscription in a remote mountain pass near Tang-i Var, 40 m. above ground, inaccessible to all but mountain goats and venturesome archaeologists with sturdy ropes.

And a secondary question arises when we reflect on the three decades which passed between the time when the rock inscription was discovered and the time when Grant Frame first read the name Shabataku in the inscription. The discoverers not only viewed

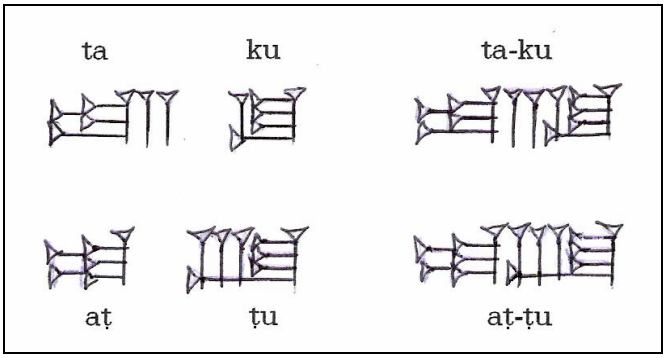
the text from inches away, they made casts of the cuneiform impressions. Dr. Vallat, who took the photographs on which Frame relied, also viewed the inscription from close up. Why did these early observers fail to read the name of Shabataku in the text? Frame argues that the discoverers were not cuneiform specialists. But what of the cast impressions. Were they not examined by specialists? We are not informed as to the qualifications of Dr. Vallat, but we must assume that both he and others who viewed the slides he took of the inscription, failed to notice the name of Shabataka. If R. Labat requested the slides, did he not examine them? Labat was one of the leading Assyriologists of his time. And it does not take a cuneiform specialist to recognize a proper name in a cuneiform text. The name is typically preceded by a single vertical stroke, a name determinant or "personenkeil". Frame sees this mark at the beginning of line 20 and indicates the fact by the transliteration (^{m}). Why was this not visible to the early observers?

A final argument derives from a comparison of the Display Inscription and the Tang-i Var inscription in their respective accounts of the Iamani incident. We recall from Redford's 1985 article that ...

> Unable to find a safe haven in Egypt, Yamani passed clean through the land *ana ite Musri sa pat Meluhha*, "to the frontier of Egypt which is (contiguous) to the territory of Kush." At this point he fell into the hands of the king of Kush who, at an unspecified later date, extradited him to Assyria.

The phrase "*ša pat Meluhha*" can best be translated "which borders (on) Melukkha" [though note that Kitchen and many other translate "which belongs to"] and the phrase "*ana ite*" means literally "to the extremity (of)" Both *pat* and *ite* are construct nouns. It is curious, to say the least, that my initial reading of line 20 of the Tang-i Var inscription saw the identical three cuneiform signs "sa pa-at" followed closely by the place name "KUR Melukkha" ("land of Melukkha") precisely as they appear on the parallel text of the Display Inscription. Frame reads the third sign as "ta" rather than "at". The fourth sign, which Frame reads as "ka" appears to be a "tu". In fact, it is not simply the case that Frame reads "ta-ku" where I read "at-tu" but rather that we see slighly different impressions and that we place the division between the constituent elements of the respective signs differently, i.e. that the combination "ta-ku" taken as a whole is visibly very similar to the combination "at-tu" viewed collectively. (note that the t's in both "at" and "tu" are emphatic) In line 20 of Frame's transliteration we note that the signs immediately following the combination ša-pa-ta-ku- , including the word "king" are obscured in the text but supplied in the translation. They may not be present.

Figure 38: Similarity of the Combinations "ta-ku" and "at(emphatic)-t(emphatic)u"



The only change that has taken place since my initial reading is the introduction of a word division between the 3rd and 4th signs. I now read ša pa-at tu-? rather than ša pa-at-tu-? If tu- is the beginning of the construct tu-ur then the emended text reads "which borders on the extremity of the land of Melukkha" This is remarkable close to the *ana ite Musri sa pat Meluhha* of the Display Inscription, and argues for the reasonableness of the emendation.

There are two arguments against the proposed emendation, both of considerable weight, and both highly technical. The first and most obvious is the fact that the emendation of the first half of line 20 requires the emendation of portions of the end of line 19. The problem is difficult to evaluate. The shadows at the end of line 19 constitute one difficulty. The subjectivity involved in reading the many partially obscured signs is another. The problem is compounded by the fact that Dr. Frame, when transcribing the Tang-i Var inscription, was cognizant of the parallel texts and probably used them to at least guide his deliberations.

The second argument is related to the first. I have used the parallel text of the Display Inscriptions to guide my reading of the beginning of line 20. How subjective was my reading of the beginning of line 20? In the spring of the year 2000, I sought a second opinion from a respected Assyriologist. He concurred with Frame. The gist of his response goes as follows (understand that he was responding to my first suggestion, i.e. that the reading should be ša pa-at-tu-) :

> I have gotten to look at the ORIENTALIA article. Here are my results. The signs in question are the fourth and fifth. There is a PERSONENKEIL at the beginning. The signs appear to be as Frame read them-ta and ku. They are clearest to me on Plates 7 and 11. I can also make them out on Plates 4, 5, 6,

> and 12. You are correct that the signs are very similar, uncannily so in this order, but they still appear to be clearly as Frame read them. The lower horizontal of the Ta extends to the first vertical. There is a space between the third vertical of the TA and the vertical of the KU. The lower horizontal of the KU begins before the first vertical of that sign and not before two verticals back, as it would in T(emph)U. PA:T(emphatic)U is a noun. There is no verb from this root.(personal correspondence)[465]

I have the utmost regard for the opinion of my colleague. I place a question mark over the entire discussion only because it involves questions of eyesight, rather than technical knowledge, and because both he and I (and Grant Frame) are dependent for our conclusions on photographs of extremely poor quality. If my friend is correct then the question is settled. The name Shabataka remains in the text and we revert to the argument presented at the beginning of this discussion. The presence of the name argues for the legitimacy of the revised history. I have no desire to remove it.

Redford concluded his brief note in Orientalia appropriately:

> The above is suggested with a diffidence born of the knowledge of how spotty is our historical record of the period in question. A number of other solutions are conceivable, and undoubtedly will be trotted out in due time. (p. 60)

We echo these sentiments and await developments.

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[465] Personal correspondence from Dr. Walter Bodine, Near Eastern Languages, Yale University.

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